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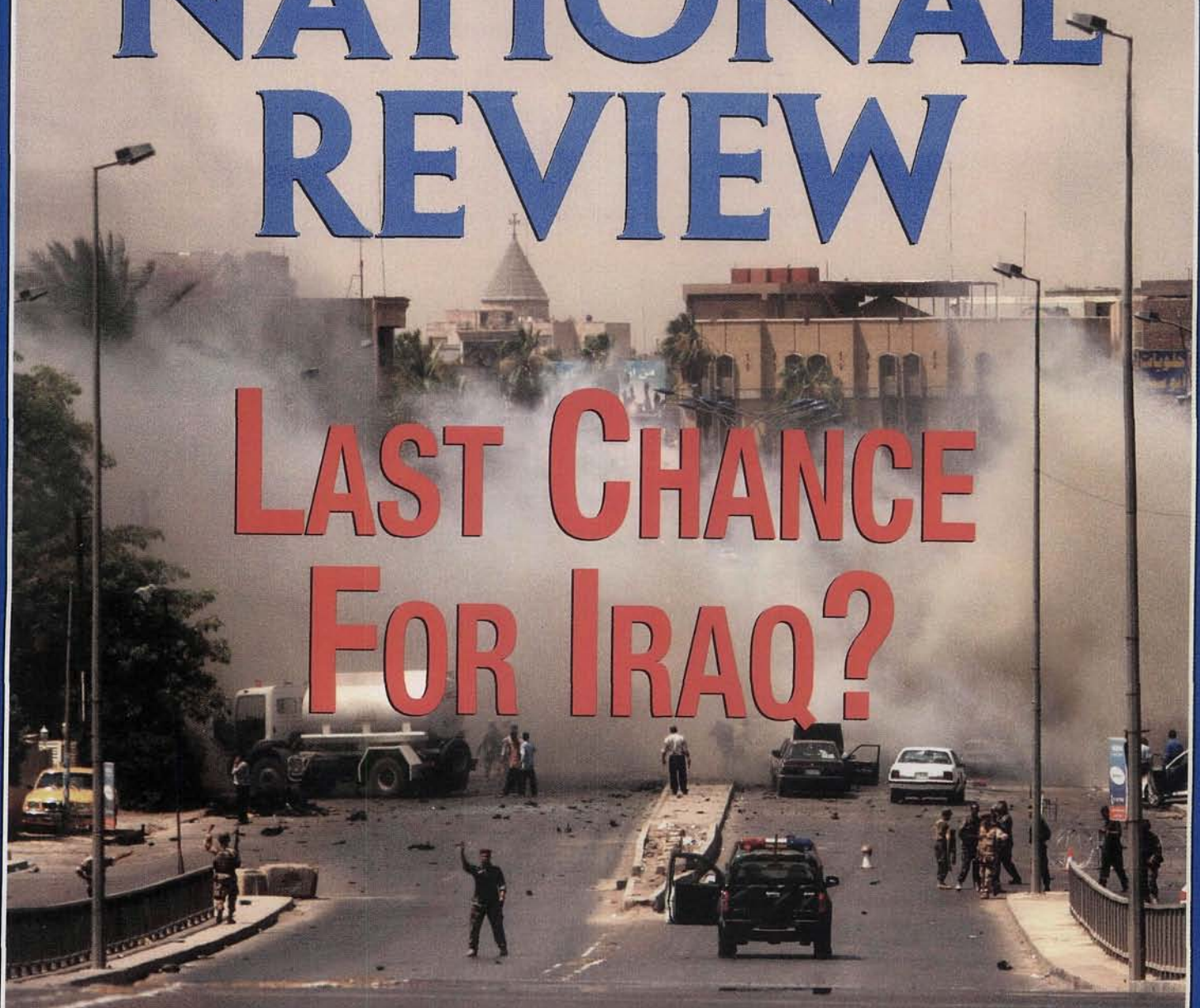
Byron York on the Endangered Moderate Democrat

NATIONAL REVIEW



LAST CHANCE FOR IRAQ?

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The Editors: No More Excuses

Bing West on Thomas Ricks's *Fiasco*

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SEPTEMBER 11, 2006 VOL. LVIII, NO. 16

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■ COVER STORY

Last Chance for Iraq?

No issue has so shaped America's recent politics or defined its present role in the world as the Iraq War. NR asked a symposium of military experts, geopolitical thinkers, Middle East scholars, and conservative writers the two paramount questions: Are we winning; and, if not, how can we? Here is what they had to say.

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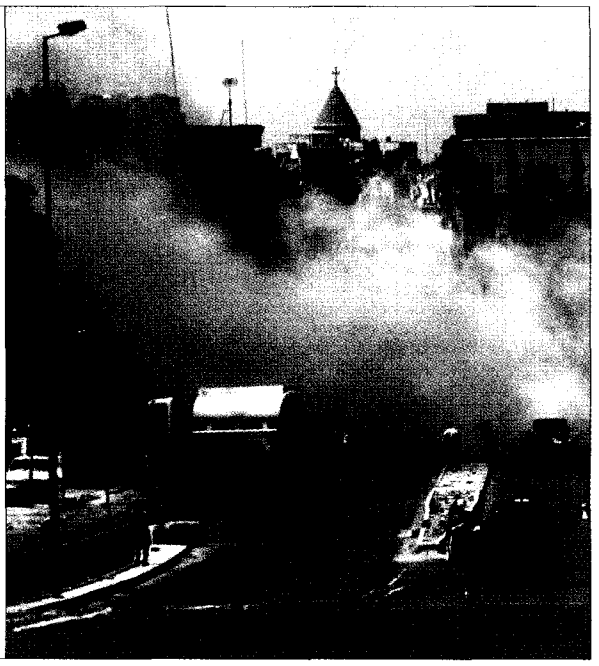

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letters to the editor

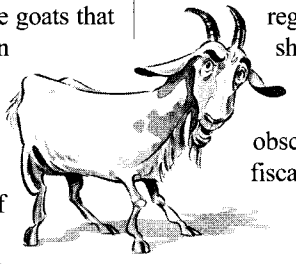
ABOUT THAT ARROW

Michael Rubin is right on point in "An Arrow in Our Quiver" (August 28). What I don't understand is this: If former presidents have prohibited assassinations via a series of executive orders, why doesn't President Bush reverse that damage by an executive order of his own that would authorize the assassination of political and military leaders engaged in terrorism? After all, he does claim to be our anti-terrorist president.

Chet Suro
Miami, Fla.

THE FRENCH RESISTANCE

I was amused by Anthony Daniels's tongue-in-cheek article on the goats that have plagued his property in France ("The Menace in France," August 28). I was, however, a bit surprised that someone of his intellect was unable to cure the goats of their curiosity. Mr. Daniels tried throwing rocks at the half-witted beasts; he attempted to use a catapult; he even tried to scare them by driving a car toward them—all to no avail. Perhaps it is his admittedly bourgeois nature, or his being reared in England, but he seems to have ignored an obvious and very American solution: an air rifle. With a few pumps, and without the risk of further injury to himself, Mr. Daniels could have driven the monsters away with pinpoint accuracy. If they refused to respond, he could have simply added a few pumps for more power. At some point the goats would surely have reacted. Of course, I know not whether Mr. Daniels considered this option and was repulsed by some French prohibition on air rifles. Either way, his caprine campaign demonstrates the virtue of American gun culture.



John-Bob Thornton
Davis, N.C.

SUPPLY-SIDE CHRISTINE

It's not much of a secret that NR has never been a fan of Christine Todd Whitman, but Chris Weinkopf, in his recent article on Gov. Arnold Schwarzenegger's spending record in California, is wrong to suggest that Whitman is not an economic conservative ("The Unlikeliest Girlie Man," August 28). During her seven years as governor of New Jersey, Whitman cut taxes more than 40 times, allowing New Jersey taxpayers to keep more than $14 billion that otherwise would have been sent to Trenton. State spending during Whitman's tenure grew at the lowest average annual rate since the governorship of Alfred Driscoll back in the 1950s. Her conservative fiscal leadership helped transform New Jersey from the economic basket case of the Northeast to the economic engine of the region during the 1990s. You should not let your disagreement with Whitman's views on social issues obscure her bona fides as a true fiscal conservative.

Bob Bostock
Lawrenceville, N.J.

A JURIS DOCTOR IN THE HOUSE?

President Bush's intelligence has been debated and questioned as he has been criticized for his policy decisions in Iraq. What I haven't seen discussed openly by intelligent conservative analysts is this: Is George W. Bush a sociopath afflicted with narcissistic personality disorder? I think that he is. What say you?

Richard Sutherland, J.D.
Long Beach, Calif.

THE EDITORS REPLY: That's J.D., not M.D., right?

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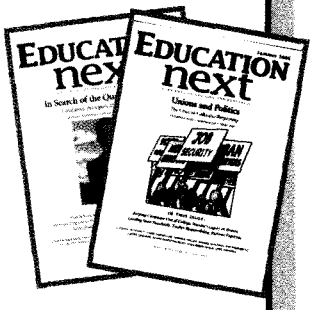

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In the new issue of *Education Next*

Hope after Katrina

Will New Orleans become the new city of choice?

To many observers, it seemed quite plausible in early 2006 that if a hurricane had not closed them, New Orleans public schools would have tumbled on their own. The city had 55 of the state of Louisiana's 78 worst schools, and between 1998 and 2004, enrollment had dropped by 26 percent. Mismanagement and corruption were rampant. But a student starting school in New Orleans in the fall of 2006 has some reason for optimism.

There are now only an estimated 28,000 students and 50 schools in the district. More than half are charters and anxious to please, offering new curricula, longer school days, and even special summer sessions. What happened? The short answer is Katrina.

—Kathryn Newmark and Veronique De Rugy

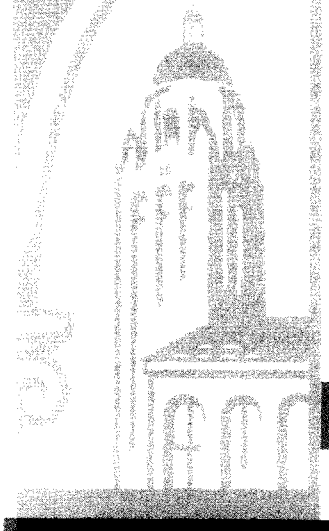
The Why Chromosome

How a teacher's gender affects boys and girls

Gender gaps in the test scores of boys and girls are a matter of real and growing concern. We've known since the 1970s that girls outscore boys in the NAEP reading tests and that boys outperform girls in math and science. Boys are increasingly less likely than girls to attend college and to receive bachelors' degrees; female college students are underrepresented in engineering and computer science. One controversial but popular response to these patterns has been a renewed push for single-sex education. Is there convincing evidence of the impact of a teacher's gender on student learning?

—Naomi Schaefer Riley

Paid for by the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.



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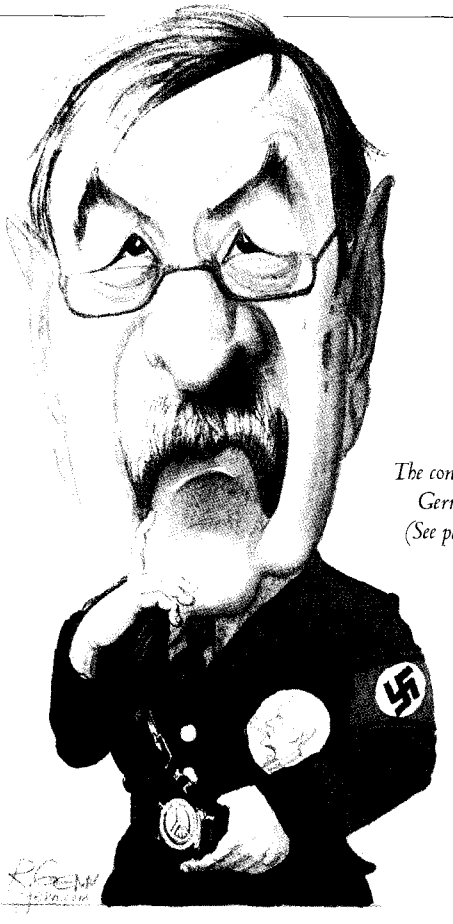
THE WEEK

■ Gail Sheehy has turned her attention to the elderly in a new book called *Sex and the Seasoned Woman*. In related news, Bill Clinton just turned 60 . . .

■ One good thing about the London-based plot to blow up America-bound airliners (besides the great good fact of its being foiled) is the single-mindedness of al-Qaeda. The plan resembled 9/11, and even more closely the aborted Bojinka plot of 1995 to blow up airliners over the Pacific. God help us when al-Qaeda turns its attention to softer American targets—as it, or some terrorist wannabe, undoubtedly will. The sickness in Islam girdles the globe, from Iran to John Muhammad, from Saudi moneymen to London jihadis. The worst reaction to such a constellation of threats is the whack-a-mole hysteria of the punditry or (in some moods) Congress: "The administration *says* it's fighting terror *here*, but what about *over there*?" Ladies and gentlemen: Our problems are here, there, and everywhere. They will last our lifetime. You have heard of the Thirty Years' War. This is ours—if not our Hundred Years' War.

■ When Sen. Joe Lieberman lost the Democratic primary, left-wing bloggers were ecstatic: Finally, they had a win! Politicians who favor the continued prosecution of the Iraq War would now have to tremble in fear. "This is what people-power looks like, and it is changing the face of politics," crowed Markos Moulitsas. It has changed the face of the Democratic party: Most of Lieberman's Democratic colleagues have disavowed his independent run to keep his seat. But all the polls show Lieberman with a lead over Ned Lamont, Moulitsas's candidate. Connecticut may be anti-war, but it is not anti-war enough to be anti-Lieberman. The bloggers may yet find that the more influence they gain among Democrats, the less they have among voters.

■ That was a pretty costly laugh line. Sen. George Allen got a chuckle from an audience when he singled out an Indian-American staffer from the campaign of his Democratic challenger, Jim Webb. Allen referred to the kid—who had been tracking him with a video camera—as "macaca." In French, the word can be a racially charged term of abuse. The left-wing blogosphere lit up with denunciations of Allen as a racist; people who make their living being offended took due offense; and the *Washington Post* ran two front-page stories on the controversy. We believe the Allen camp's explanation that the senator was repeating a nickname his campaign aides had come up with for the staffer, and that it had no racial connotation (only a scatological one). But a U.S. senator should never appear to be bullying a 20-year-old. Allen is among the most personable one-on-one campaigners in the business. He should have known better.



ROMAN GENN

The conscience of Germany? *(See page 10)*

■ When Bill Clinton was president, his instinct for the unseemly made daily news. Now that he is an elder statesman, it thrusts itself before the public less frequently. His complaint over turning 60 was the latest instance. *Tempus fugit* is an ancient theme of poets; all men feel it, young and old. But does lamenting time's passage become a man in Mr. Clinton's position? He has undoubted political skills, and some real accomplishments, even from our point of view. He has been the most powerful man in the world, with control over the football. Now is the time for reflection, for counsel, for judgment. Why bewail 60? Because it will be harder to play the saxophone badly in public? To fish in the intern catch-and-release pool? We would say, "Grow up"—except that this would be harder for him than seeing 59 again.

■ After the 2004 election, left-wing journalist Rick Perlstein wrote that bashing Wal-Mart was "the way forward for the Democrats": "God-fearing middle Americans who also fear for their families' economic security would be far more likely to vote their economic interests—rather than on matters like gay marriage and abortion—if the Democratic Party beat a public retreat from a politics that condones or even celebrates the Wal-

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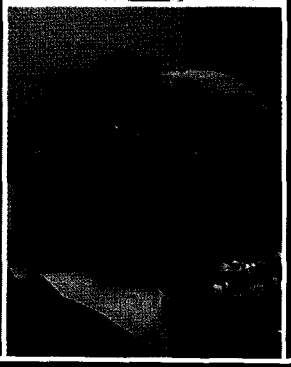

"Studying the art of medicine without an understanding of human nature is much like building a house without blueprints."

Francis J. Milligan III ('85)
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THE WEEK...

Martization of America and the world." More and more Democrats, especially those considering presidential runs in 2008, have been taking his advice. John Edwards says that the company "is a powerful political issue." Really? In December, the Pew Research Center found that Wal-Mart arouses more hostility than other corporations—but that, even so, a solid 69 percent of the public has a favorable opinion of the company. The working-class voters Democrats needs to regain aren't seething about Wal-Mart's practices; they are benefiting from its low prices. The company's CEO puts it this way: "Twice as many Americans shop at Wal-Mart over the course of a year than voted in the last presidential election." On this issue, the Democrats are pandering to their primary voters and getting out of step with the larger public.

■ Between 1965 and 1995 we spent more than $5 trillion on Lyndon Johnson's war on poverty, while welfare rolls, chronic unemployment, and illegitimacy rates all steadily grew. Ronald Reagan quipped that poverty had won the war. Even Democrats admitted it. As a presidential candidate in 1992, Bill Clinton faulted the destructive incentives of the welfare system and pledged to "end welfare as we know it." In 1996 he did just that by signing a Republican reform that put a five-year limit on cash assistance and imposed work requirements on recipients. Since then, welfare rolls have shrunk by more than 60 percent, the number of poor children has fallen by 1.4 million, and illegitimacy rates have stopped growing. Black-child poverty is at its lowest level in history. None of this would have happened without the courage and commitment of congressional Republicans—especially Rick Santorum, Jim Talent, and Clay Shaw—who overcame a powerful coalition of liberal advocacy groups, academics, bureaucrats, media, and church leaders. Their conservative common sense vanquished liberal "compassion"—and the poor are richer for it.

■ There is a limit to how much safety racial and ethnic profiling can provide us in the War on Terror. The pool of willing suicide bombers includes converts and, in the case of the London terror plot, a Muslim mom. Twenty years ago, a pregnant Irish woman boarded an El Al flight with a bomb that her Jordanian boyfriend had hidden in her luggage. But the inadequacy of relying on profiling alone does not excuse security officials' willful blindness to statistics. It is reasonable to harbor more suspicions about Muslim men of a certain age than about members of other groups, yet religion and ethnic identity are not now taken into account as risk factors at airport screening, and federal law prohibits airlines from denying passage based on national origin, religion, sex, or ancestry. Civil-liberties pieties shouldn't prevent the development of a smarter, safer system that focuses resources on the greatest potential risks—and consults all relevant factors in determining who those risks are.

■ Iran has responded to the package of incentives that the United States, Europe, Russia, and China offered it in exchange for suspending uranium enrichment. The answer, unsurprisingly, was no. The Iranian regime wasn't honest enough to come right out and *say* no; its officials spoke of "serious negotiations" and "a final agreement." But it has now made clear that it has no intention of halting uranium enrichment, and will defy a U.N. Security Council resolution requiring it to do so by August 31. The U.N. must now decide whether its word is to mean anything. And the U.S. must decide what it will do if, as is highly probable, Russia and China balk at imposing sanctions on Iran; or if, as is also highly probable, sanctions prove ineffective. A member of Iran's Assembly of Experts thundered recently that the United States and Israel "should fear the day that our missiles, with a range of 2,000 kilometers, land in the heart of Tel Aviv." The United States must do whatever is required to ensure that the mullahs cannot put nuclear warheads atop those missiles.

MOHAMMAD KHEIRKHAH

■ President Ahmadinejad of Iran has started a blog. In his first entry he reminisced about his childhood as the son of a village blacksmith. This touching nostalgia was of course mixed with diatribes against the U.S.A. and Israel. Ahmadinejad does not tell us the thing we would most like to know about him: Whether, as widely suspected, he was among those who seized our Tehran embassy in 1979—a gross violation of international law, and the most outrageous insult to U.S. sovereignty in modern times. Like many another novice writer, Ahmadinejad goes on for much too long, his first blog post exceeding 2,000 words in English translation. To his credit, the president apologized for this: "From now onwards, I will try to make it shorter and simpler." To satisfy our taste, Mr. President, it could not be short or simple enough . . . unless you care to tell us what you were doing from November 1979 to January 1981.

■ Being president of Iran is a busy job—dissidents to jail, blogs to post, nuke-building to oversee, Jews to wipe off the map. But Ahmadinejad took a break to sit down for an interview with Mike Wallace. Turns out he isn't such a bad guy after all. Misunderstood, is all. "Smart as hell," according to Wallace. "Rational." "Savvy." "Rather attractive." Even "good-looking in a strange way." (Note to CBS stylists: Beards

A SPECIAL INVITATION

■ Please join Profs. Milton and Rose Friedman in San Francisco on Friday, September 22, 2006, for a cocktail party and buffet dinner in celebration and support of NATIONAL REVIEW and National Review Online. Editors in attendance will include Richard Lowry, Jay Nordlinger, Jonah Goldberg, Ramesh Ponnuru, and Kate O'Beirne, and we will also have former publishers William Rusher and Edward Capano on hand. For details, please contact Elena Koly at (212) 679-7330, ext. 2832, or e-mail her at ekoly@nationalreview.com.

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are back.) Ahmadinejad is, moreover, a man of principle: He hasn't "the slightest doubt" how he feels about "the American administration and the Zionist state." There is of course a long tradition of liberal journalists who swoon like lovesick schoolgirls over any old tyrant. But Wallace's display marks a new birth of foolishness.

■ For millennia, Chinese law was not a means for the individual to protect his rights, but a tool for the emperor to enforce his prerogatives and subdue his enemies. Come to think of it, that's pretty much still the case. The Chinese Communist party—Beijing's current dynasty—has tried one Chen Guangcheng for allegedly disrupting traffic and destroying property. The verdict has not been announced, but if found guilty, as he almost surely will be, Mr. Chen faces up to five years in prison. His supporters say that the charges are false, and that his real crime was to expose and protest the abortions China forces upon pregnant women who violate its one-child policy. We cannot know for sure that Chen did not commit the acts for which he stood trial. But if he were a mere vandal, why did the Chinese government keep him under house arrest for the past year? And why did it detain his defense attorneys and prevent his supporters from attending the trial? Once again, we see the chasm that sunders China's rulers from governments that have a decent respect for the dignity of their people.

■ The University of Sussex in England has banned the sale of a certain substance in its student union, citing concerns about human-rights abuses in Colombia. According to student protestors, the producers of this substance in that country routinely mistreat their workers, ruthlessly attack their competitors, and sell an addictive product that poisons the bodies of consumers. Now, this might be reasonable enough if we were talking about coke. But Sussex has banned Coke. You see, the anti-corporate Left has been waging a publicity campaign against the soft-drink giant for years, making all sorts of wild accusations that have never been substantiated. In fact, the Coca-Cola Company is a much-needed source of stability, employment, and tax revenue in Colombia's struggling economy. But this doesn't matter to the anti-Coke movement, which is primarily about posturing—against globalization, against capitalism, and especially against American capitalism. So Sussex has replaced Coke with various "ethical" alternatives, including a brand known as Virgin Cola. It's a fine product, we're sure, but isn't the name a bit puritanical for the modern university?

■ Charles Johnson of the blog Little Green Footballs has discovered the Jayson Blair of Reuters. His name is Adnan Hajj, and he is a photographer working in Lebanon. Hajj was caught doctoring a photo of an Israeli air strike in order to add more smoke and devastation. Reuters admitted that the photo had been doctored and pulled it. Another blogger, Rusty Shackleford of the Jawa Report, subsequently discovered a second Hajj photo that had been altered. This time, an Israeli jet dropping a flare

• First with the Swift Boat Vets story

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THE WEEK...

was made to look as if it were firing missiles. With that, Reuters suspended Hajj and pulled all of his photos from its wires, and the blogosphere scored another win against dishonest journalism.

■ The world of art continues to explore new frontiers. At a gallery in Cornwall, England, young artist Kira O'Reilly is staging a performance piece in which she sits or lies stark naked and cradles a dead pig for four hours. Whatever its effect on gallery patrons, Ms. O'Reilly's creation seems to have done the artist a world of good. On the gallery website she enthuses: "The work left me with an undercurrent of pigginess, unexpected fantasies of mergence and interspecies metamorphoses began to flicker into my consciousness." PETA has lodged the inevitable protest; but strangely, Britain's omnipresent, ever-vigilant Muslim outrage industry has so far not been heard from. Perhaps they can't decide which is more offensive to their sensibilities: the naked woman or the dead pig. Or perhaps they are just quietly happy to see their worst suspicions about the decadence of Western Civ so abundantly verified.

■ Alfred Nobel, a practical man, did not include mathematics in the categories for the Nobel Prize, so mathematicians have established honors of their own. One of the most prestigious is the Fields Medal, awarded at the International Congress of Mathematicians every four years. The current Congress was held in Madrid this summer, and on August 22 King Juan Carlos of Spain handed out three Fields Medals. The number should have been four, but Russian mathematician Grigory Perelman has refused the award. Perelman, a 40-year-old recluse who lives with his mother in St. Petersburg, seems (mathematicians are still checking his reasoning) to have resolved the Poincaré Conjecture, a longstanding conundrum in algebraic topology. As well as being the first person to turn down a Fields, Perelman is apparently uninterested in a separate $1 million prize he is eligible for. His reasons are unclear. He does not answer his phone, or talk to anyone much. Though Perelman is not, so far as one can judge, insane, only very eccentric, it is hard not to think of G. K. Chesterton's observation that "imagination does not breed insanity. Exactly what does breed insanity is reason. Poets do not go mad; but chess players do. Mathematicians go mad . . . but creative artists very seldom."

■ Günter Grass preens himself as the conscience of Germany. Among public intellectuals, he has been quickest to sniff out lack of moral scruple in others. In novels and platform harangues, his specialty is admonishing Germans to examine their past truthfully. He excoriated a West German chancellor who had been a member of the Nazi party. He sank to his knees before the memorial to the Warsaw Ghetto, and told an audience in Israel that he himself was merely "the accidental product" of a crop of young men born at the wrong time. When Helmut Kohl and Ronald Reagan visited the military cemetery in Bitburg, Grass was up in arms because some Waffen SS soldiers were buried there. Every stick to beat the United States came in handy when Grass marched at the front of the "peace" movement so helpful to the Soviet Union. This master of political correctness was heaped with praise and rewards, including the Nobel Prize. Well, it was all a sham: The truth now emerges that he himself was a member of the Waffen SS. With the vague comment that this fact was "buried within," he dismisses his failure over the past 61 years to acknowledge his past, and shows not a trace of remorse or contrition. "But he was young," the politically correct brigade reply. "He has an autobiography to sell, and the revelation doesn't affect his writing." No, sir. The scale of the hypocrisy is monstrous. Since 1945, Grass has been living a lie, and everything he has said and done is morally suspect.

■ "My very educated mother just served us nine pizzas." Thus the schoolroom mnemonic for the names of the nine planets: Mercury, Venus, Earth, etc. In recent years this traditional scheme has been thrown into confusion by the discovery of large, spherical bodies in the outermost reaches of the sun's domain, far beyond the orbit of Pluto, and in some cases bigger than the ninth planet. Even before these discoveries, Pluto's status as a true planet had been questioned on grounds of size (less than 1 percent the mass of Earth), composition (more ice than rock), and orbital peculiarity. Should we extend the list of planets? Or place these remote, icy bodies in a category of their own? The International Astronomical Union proposed that Pluto and its remoter pals be considered planets—sort of. Pluto would get to keep its lofty "planet" designation, but other bodies that take more than 200 years to orbit the sun would henceforth be classified as "plutons." Everyone clear on that? Since planets don't care what we call them, we suggest that conservatives stick with the traditional scheme. Fie upon these innovations!

■ John William Pope spent most of his life building a retail empire for cost-conscious shoppers in the rural Southeast. His Variety Wholesalers chain, based in North Carolina, currently has more than 500 stores in 14 states and has been called a regional Wal-Mart. Pope was an aggressive entrepreneur, but he was also famously frugal, as anybody who ever visited his former corporate offices, located behind a warehouse, can

ISRAEL, SOME TIME LATER

There was no famous victory:
No Inchon Landing from the sea
Detached Hezbollah as the tanks
Relentlessly chewed up its flanks.
Clearly, a Clausewitz Olmert ain't;
He doesn't know from thrust and feint.
Back in Jerusalem, the looks
Appear hungry as Captain Hook's.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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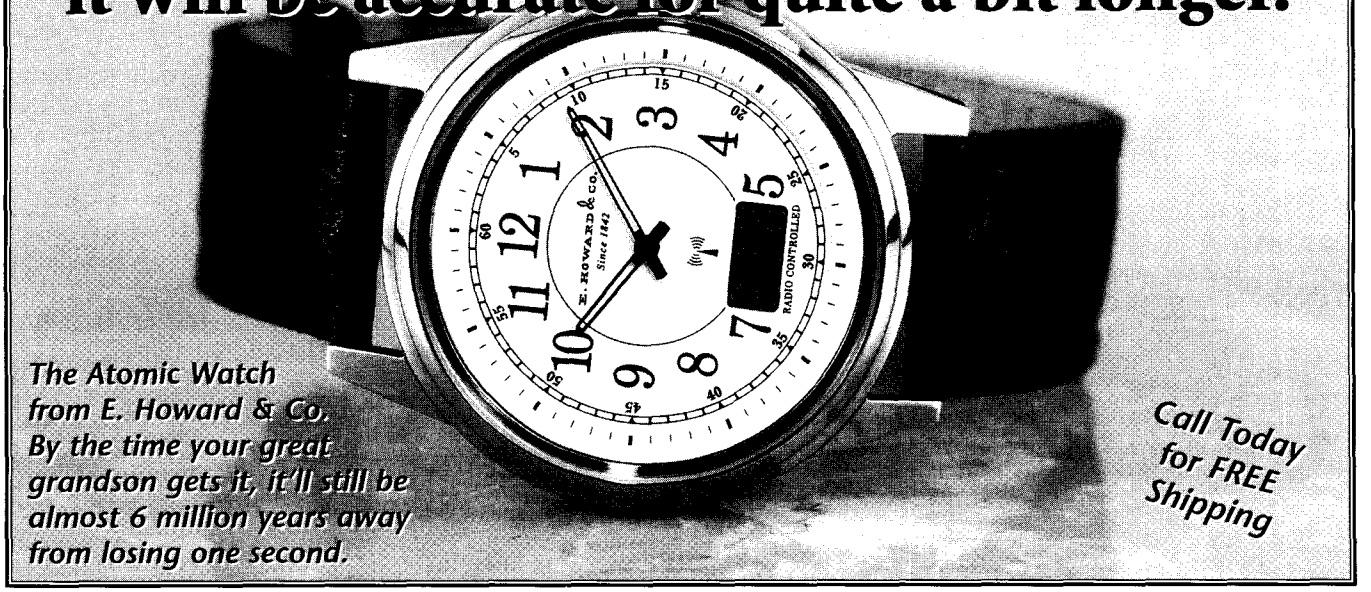

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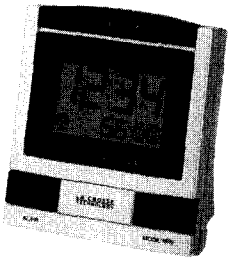

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attest. His penny-pinching, however, made it possible for him to become a generous philanthropist. Through the John William Pope Foundation, he gave away millions to higher education, churches, and other causes. With his son Art, he also used his fortune to build a conservative public-policy infrastructure in Raleigh; its centerpiece, the John Locke Foundation, is widely regarded as one of the finest state-level think tanks in the country. Pope, aged 81, died at home on August 19. R.I.P.

AT WAR

No Excuses

OVER the last two years, the U.S. has done nearly everything it thought might undermine the insurgency in Iraq and stabilize the country. We held elections that demonstrated the desire of most Iraqis for a better future. We brought Sunnis into the legitimate political process and fostered the creation of a unity government. We killed the leader of al-Qaeda in Iraq, Abu Zarqawi. We built an Iraqi army that, for all its flaws, will stand and fight. We pushed aside the ineffectual prime minister Ibrahim Jaafari to make room for his replacement, Nouri al-Maliki. We did all of this, yet the violence is as bad as it has ever been.

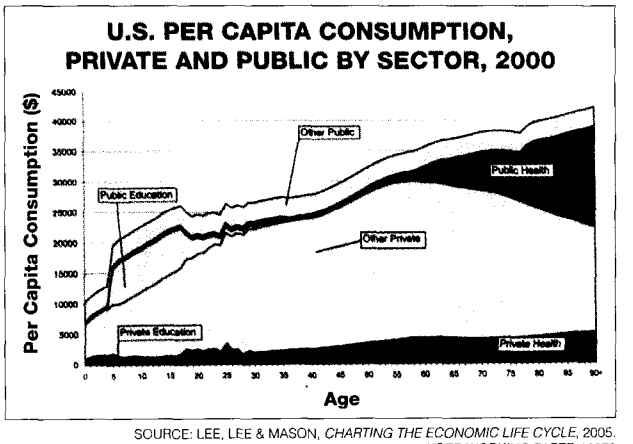
Attacks on American troops are up. Attacks on Iraqi forces are up. Attacks on Iraqi civilians are up. Iraqi civil society gives the impression of teetering on the edge of collapse. People are afraid to go to mosques, for fear of the horrors that regularly transpire at them. Bank officials depend on stealthy deliveries of cash in private cars, for fear of the brazen robberies that regularly befall armored vehicles. People hesitate to open their doors to the police, for fear that they might actually be militiamen prowling the streets with power tools to torture their victims. Mourners can't even collect corpses at the Baghdad mosque free of fear that they will be killed while doing so. The middle class is fleeing the country, and both Shia and Sunni are beginning to leave mixed neighborhoods to escape sectarian violence.

As all the contributors to the Iraq symposium on page 26 agree, this constitutes losing the war. But the crisis on the ground is not obviously accompanied by a sense of crisis in the Bush administration, even though the war risks sinking Bush's

The Tyranny of the Retiree

EVERY form of government has its strengths and weaknesses. For democracy, a key theoretical weakness has always been the threat of a "tyranny of the majority." In *Democracy in America*, Alexis de Tocqueville observed: "If the free institutions of America are destroyed, that event may be attributed to the omnipotence of the majority." Today, this worry is especially pronounced in the economic realm. In spite of our constitutional protections, an electoral majority still has the power to seize control of society's resources and condemn the productive minority to a heavily taxed penury.

In the United States, the elderly are the most likely candidates for the dictator's role. To begin with, senior citizens are much more politically engaged than the young: Among people aged 75 years and older, more than 66 percent voted in the 2004 election. By contrast, only about 42 percent of people between 18 and 24 went to the polls. Moreover, the AARP—formerly known as the American Association of Retired Persons—is one of the most influential lobbying organizations in Washington. In a recent study, it ranked sixth among such groups in terms of money spent, edging out defense giant Northrop Grumman. As our society ages, its considerable influence will only increase.



SOURCE: LEE, LEE & MASON, *CHARTING THE ECONOMIC LIFE CYCLE*, 2005. NBER WORKING PAPER 12379

This has already had an enormous effect on our national policy. The nearby graph illustrates how wealth has been redistributed from the young to the old. The chart, drawn from a fascinating new paper by professors at the University of California and the University of Hawaii, shows the number of dollars consumed by a typical U.S. citizen in 2000, broken down by the age of the consumer and the type of consumption. The top line shows total consumption for each age group, with 25-year-olds averaging $26,400 a year, compared with about $40,000 a year for 80-year-olds. And the pattern of total consumption shows that society typically devotes more and more resources to individuals as they grow older. The consumption of an 80-year-old is about double that of a 5-year-old.

Why does consumption go up so much with age? Social Security contributes, but the red area in the chart indicates that the lion's share of the increase comes from government spending on health care. Uncle Sam spends virtually nothing on a person who is 30, but about $11,000 a year on each 80-year-old.

And therein lies the challenge. In 2005, 3.6 percent of the population was over 80. In 2050, 8 percent of the population will be. Going forward, two main possibilities present themselves: Either the government will tax the young within an inch of their lives to pay the doctors' bills of the elderly, or the elderly will become enlightened dictators and ease up on their children and grandchildren. The political gridlock of recent years suggests that the former is the better bet.

—KEVIN A. HASSETT

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presidency and making his "new Middle East" even worse than the old one.

If the administration is letting domestic political considerations restrain its response in Iraq, it is making a serious miscalculation. GOP officials know how important an energized conservative base is to their hopes this fall. That base would be energized by seeing Bush do more rather than less in Iraq. As far as the rest of the public is concerned, the Bush administration only discredits itself by not fully acknowledging the direness of conditions on the ground. We suspect that if Bush reacted to those conditions with a big new push—and even sent more troops—the public would respond favorably. What is behind its sagging support for the war is the understandable perception that the administration has no path to victory in Iraq, and that we are on an inevitable slide toward calamity there.

Securing Baghdad would provide a demonstrable success to reassure the American public, and would help change the dynamics of the war. Unless checked, the sectarian violence might take on a life of its own. And as long as it rages, it continues to radicalize Shia politics, marginalizing moderating figures like Ayatollah Sistani and empowering firebrands like Moqtada al-Sadr. We realize that irregular wars of the sort that the U.S. is fighting in Iraq always take time and require patience. What must be avoided is allowing conditions to deteriorate to the point where no amount of patience will make a difference.

Securing Baghdad would provide a demonstrable success to reassure the American public, and would help change the dynamics of the war.

The Bush administration is in the midst of implementing a new plan to secure Baghdad neighborhood by neighborhood with an additional 4,000 American troops and an equal number of Iraqi soldiers. We hope they are enough, but we have our doubts. It would be advisable for the administration at least to create a margin of error and engage in some worst-case planning: If it thinks 4,000 more Americans are needed to secure Baghdad, send 8,000. If this effort does not succeed, it will be that much harder to launch yet another one (Maliki's first plan to secure Baghdad, undertaken two months ago, proved a miserable failure).

Baghdad will never be secure, of course, absent a serious push to diminish the power of the Shia militias there. This must involve a concerted political-military effort to counteract Iran's malign influence. Bush has repeatedly warned Iran against interfering in Iraq, but his rhetoric has never been matched by action. As Michael Rubin argues in this issue, "we need to cut the supply lines to the militias, roll up Iranian intelligence, and replace Iranian charities with our own patronage."

None of this would be easy—if securing Baghdad were simple we would have done it long before now. Nor would these steps guarantee our success in a tribal society devastated by 30 years of tyranny and deeply riven by sectarian violence. There is, however, a sure path to failure—and that is the premature pullout advocated by many Democrats. We admire President Bush's resolve in resisting these calls even though the political pressure on him is enormous. That he repeatedly says we won't leave Iraq on his watch is significant. But determination itself is no substitute for performance, or for a winning strategy.

Conservatives have tended to explain away the setbacks in Iraq by noting that there are mistakes in every war and that no plan is perfect. All true enough, but these dicta have their limits. Past a certain point they are only excuses for failure. It was the Prussian field marshal Helmuth von Moltke who first said that "no plan survives first contact with an enemy," but the inherent imperfectability of military planning didn't keep him from crushing the Austrians and the French. Listening to some of the conservatives who defend the prosecution of the Iraq War, one might think that American military history has been a dreary march of mistakes—Washington's retreat from New York, not his crossing of the Delaware; McClellan, not Grant; Pearl Harbor, not Midway.

In the end, there is no excuse for losing a war.

AT WAR II

Dead Letter

THE goal of U.S. diplomacy in the Israel–Lebanon conflict was always to lock in Israel's military gains. With Resolution 1701, the U.S. achieved that goal. It's just that the Israeli military gains were so ephemeral that there was little worth locking in. Israel's campaign damaged Hezbollah, but it also caused strategically counterproductive destruction in Lebanon and never succeeded in expelling Hezbollah from the south of the country. Thus the Israelis set the stage for precisely what the Bush administration wanted to avoid: a rapid return to the status quo ante.

It was the hope of Israeli prime minister Ehud Olmert that U.S. diplomacy would deliver what the IDF either could not accomplish or wasn't permitted to attempt. That was always a forlorn hope, as became evident almost hours after the U.N. Security Council passed Resolution 1701. According to the resolution, an arms embargo is to cut Hezbollah off from resupply, though it's not clear how. The Lebanese army is to take over southern Lebanon from Hezbollah, though the Lebanese government has made it clear it will operate in the south only in conjunction with Hezbollah. A newly robust U.N. force is to back up the Lebanese army, though the French, who are supposed to lead the force, now say they will contribute only 200 combat engineers.

The reason for the near-immediate unraveling of Resolution 1701 is the inadequacy of the Israeli military campaign. In the final tussling over the resolution, Israel insisted that there be no "vacuum" between the exit of its forces and the arrival of an international force, because such a vacuum could be exploited by Hezbollah to return to the south. But since Hezbollah was never fully pushed from the area, it is still there, vacuum or not. Lebanese officials who are supposed to disarm Hezbollah ask

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why they should do the work Israel couldn't, and their question is a reasonable one, especially given that Hezbollah appears to be as powerful as their own government.

Hezbollah has a crucial advantage over any competitors for ultimate control of the south—not just the legitimacy that comes with the support of the Shia population, but the sheer will that motivates it to fight and die for its cause. Are French and Italian troops willing to die for the enforcement of Resolution 1701? We already know the answer.

Only Israel could have disarmed, or at least seriously wounded, Hezbollah. The Bush administration gave it plenty of running room, and was amazingly stalwart by the standards of former U.S. administrations. We would have preferred that Israel be given even more time. But there were legitimate fears about the Lebanese government's falling, and it is understandable that the administration's patience with the incoherence of the Israeli military campaign and the indecisiveness of Olmert ran out.

Hezbollah has scored an incalculable propaganda victory by successfully standing up to Israel, and it now enjoys a surge of support from the Lebanese reaction against the Israeli bombing campaign. It has lived to fight another day—and fight it will. Its patrons, Syria and Iran, can only be delighted. In addition to winning in Lebanon, Iran has the upper hand both in Iraq and in the contest over whether it will be allowed to acquire nuclear weapons. At this rate, it won't be too long until the Bush administration's project in the Middle East requires the same sort of expedient we have just seen in the Israel–Lebanon conflict: a papering over of what is essentially a failure.

AT WAR III

A Judge's Foreign Policy

THE courts of the United States once understood that international affairs, the conduct of war, and the protection of Americans from foreign threats stood far beyond the judicial ken. As Supreme Court justice Robert Jackson wrote in 1948, sensitive matters of foreign policy and national security involve "decisions of a kind for which the Judiciary has neither aptitude, facilities nor responsibility and which has long been held to belong in the domain of political power not subject to judicial intrusion or inquiry."

Enter Anna Diggs Taylor, chief judge of the federal district court in Detroit. She has purported to find unconstitutional the Bush administration's Terrorist Surveillance Program (TSP)—an early-warning system crucial to protecting the nation from attack. In so doing, she has shown how far we have strayed from Justice Jackson's wisdom.

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Under the program, the NSA monitors international communications, including those into and out of the United States, when there is a reasonable basis to believe that an al-Qaeda operative is on at least one end of the conversation. Americans broadly support the TSP. But ever since the end of 2005—when government officials illegally disclosed its existence to the *New York Times*, which promptly compromised it—it has come under legal assault from the anti-American Left, civil-liberties extremists, and Muslim activists.

To block litigation by this coalition from providing the enemy with incalculably valuable intelligence, the administration invoked the state-secrets privilege, a 150-year-old legal tool that allows the federal government to dismiss cases that might compromise national-defense information. This should have been the end of the story. But Taylor reached the dubious conclusion that the state-secrets privilege applies only to litigation that would require the government to disclose informants, and offers no protection to other kinds of intelligence collection.

Americans have no reasonable expectation of privacy when seeking to communicate with persons outside the United States, and privacy law consequently does not—cannot—apply.

She also found that the plaintiffs in the case, mainly attorneys and journalists, had standing to sue. Standing rules require a plaintiff to establish that he has suffered a unique, concrete injury that can be redressed by court action. They are designed to ensure that matters of general rather than individual concern are decided by the political branches accountable to the public, not by the courts. Yet Taylor found, in flat contravention of Supreme Court precedent, that the plaintiffs were harmed because both they and the al-Qaeda suspects they wished to contact had been "chilled" from communicating. This reasoning is ludicrous. Americans have no reasonable expectation of privacy when seeking to communicate with persons outside the United States, and privacy law consequently does not—cannot—apply.

In short, Taylor ran roughshod over rules that should have kept her from deciding the case in the first place. But decide it she did, finding that the TSP violates the separation of powers and the Fourth Amendment because it does not seek judicial warrants under the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act to authorize its activities. She ruled thus notwithstanding that *every* federal appellate court to consider the issue, including the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Court of Review itself, had previously ruled that the president has inherent constitutional authority to conduct warrantless wiretapping to protect the nation from external threats.

In disregarding this consensus, Taylor effectively claimed that the only official elected by all Americans—an official whose primary duty happens to be safeguarding the security of the United States—is powerless to order surveillance against an enemy in wartime unless a federal judge says he can. The Framers would be appalled. And so should we.

KATRINA

Storm Warnings

A YEAR after Hurricane Katrina and all the recriminations that followed in its wake, it's worth recalling how much worse this natural disaster could have been. New Orleans mayor Ray Nagin predicted 10,000 dead in his city alone, and liberal activist Randall Robinson claimed that desperate survivors were eating corpses. But official fatalities for the entire Gulf region were fewer than 2,000. There was no evidence of any cannibalism. In the absence of a rescue operation that some, for partisan reasons, would like to pretend didn't happen, the death toll would have soared much higher.

To be sure, the actual result was bad enough: more than we could bear, to paraphrase what Rudy Giuliani once said in a different context. Yet the catastrophe's chief villain was not, for all its many inadequacies, the Federal Emergency Management Agency. Nor was it racism on the part of the Bush administration. Nor still the all-purpose bogeyman of global warming. Rather, the main culprits were a flawed levee system and a lack of local preparedness. These problems existed long before Katrina made landfall and, in the case of the levees, were well known by those who made an effort to understand them.

Most of Louisiana's public officials have chosen to avert their gaze from their own failure, preferring instead to point fingers and demand massive federal aid. Their first funding request, for $250 billion, was so full of pork projects unrelated to Katrina that even Washington's congressional spendthrifts made jokes about selling Louisiana back to the French. But Louisianans weren't the only ones at the trough: Mississippi's Republican senators, Thad Cochran and Trent Lott, tried to secure $700 million for a rail line meant to spur casino development—a "railroad to nowhere" that made Alaska's $220 million "bridge to nowhere" look like a bargain. Thankfully, a veto threat from the White House killed it.

With the federal government nevertheless promising $110 billion in recovery aid, waste is perhaps inevitable. But does it have to be quite this bad? A good chunk of the money will go to the Army Corps of Engineers, even though it was responsible for maintaining the failed levees in the first place. Its post-Katrina budget has already increased by 55 percent, and further increases are in store. Rarely has such woeful incompetence been so richly rewarded.

New Orleans, a city below sea level, was a disaster waiting to happen. It had flooded before, and it was only a matter of time until it flooded again. Its basic vulnerability is highlighted by the fact that Katrina wasn't even the feared and fabled "Big One": Upon reaching Bourbon Street, what was once a category-five hurricane had weakened to, at most, a category-three storm. Moreover, its greatest fury was concentrated east of the city. The Mississippi towns of Bay St. Louis and Pass Christian bore the brunt: They were wiped off the map.

The levees in New Orleans have now been hastily rebuilt. Experts believe that a new category-three hurricane would stress them beyond their capabilities. Mercifully, no such tempests have appeared on the horizon this year. At least not yet.

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Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah

■ THE MIDDLE EAST ■

You Call That a War?

Israel loses a round in Lebanon

DAVID PRYCE-JONES

ISRAEL in the perception of the Iranian leaders is the West's front line. To attack it is to attack the United States in what they genuinely believe to be—in their words—"a fateful struggle against Western hegemony in the world." As one among other means to that end, they effectively colonized Lebanon through Hezbollah, the militia they have been recruiting, training, and arming there over a number of years. Another means is the Iranian nuclear program, and it says a great deal about the mindset and self-confidence of Iran's rulers that they permitted a test of strength with Israel in the crucial period before that program's completion. It was a tremendous gamble. The Second World War started in much the same way, when the Germans staged a cross-border raid on Poland as the pretext for all-out assault. The parallel holds further: As the Germans in 1939, so the Iranians have scored what may look like success for the moment but contains the seeds of future and more extensive warfare.

Unlike Poland confronting the Germans, everything appeared to be in Israel's favor. The G-8 summit in July was supportive. President Bush provided Israel with the political scope and the time necessary to crush Hezbollah. Tony Blair concurred, and even the appeasement-minded Europeans for once allowed that Israel had the right to defend itself. The country was united and determined. The Peace Now crowd evaporated. Hundreds of thousands of Israelis were displaced, but there were no scenes of panic at the airport. Reservists duly mobilized and fought as previous generations had done. A high proportion of those killed were officers and senior non-commissioned officers.

Negative factors were soon apparent, however. The Lebanese road system was destroyed to prevent the resupply of armaments to Hezbollah, but the Iranians and their Syrian allies were still able to use minor routes across the Syrian border. Furthermore, the appeasement-minded Europeans soon saw their chance to rally against Israel on the grounds that the bombing was "disproportionate." The Israeli chief of staff, Dan Halutz, an air-force general, will have to explain why he believed that the bomber has replaced the infantryman—a view recently tested to destruction in Iraq. When the air campaign was seen to leave Hezbollah more or less intact in bunkers concealed below schools and mosques and civilian houses, the government called up the reservists but then inexplicably wasted ten more days before sending them in. In the final stage, the Israeli army did get into position to surround Hezbollah south of the Litani River, much as the Russians had trapped the Germans in the famous *Kessel* at Stalingrad, and this would have led to killing or capturing the lot—but by then the ceasefire stood in the way of any such victory.

Who took which political and military decisions, and why and when, is at the center of the political tornado already lashing Israel. A commission of inquiry into every aspect of the war has been set up, but this may not be enough to deal with the frustration and anger. The untimely illness and departure from office of Ariel Sharon promoted the relatively unknown Ehud Olmert as the succeeding

ROMAN GENN

Mr. Pryce-Jones, an NR senior editor, is the author, most recently, of *Betrayal: France, the Jews, and the Arabs*, forthcoming from Encounter.

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prime minister. The main plank of the Sharon-Olmert party was to hand the West Bank over to the Palestinians for a state. While Hezbollah rockets were landing in their hundreds on Israel, Olmert bewilderingly announced that plans to withdraw from the West Bank were on course, although this would obviously place Tel Aviv and Jerusalem within range of future rockets. (He has since all but conceded that there will be no withdrawal, calling into question his party's *raison d'être*.) According to one opinion poll, 51 percent are dissatisfied with Olmert's performance and almost as many think he should resign, while 63 percent think that Amir Peretz, the defense minister, is not up to the job and almost as many think he too should resign. Another poll shows that only a third of Israelis believe that their country won this war.

Almost unanimously, the media are apocalyptic. Ari Shavit, one of Israel's most influential columnists, has captured the public mood with articles alleging "systematic failure" on the part of the national elite, the political and military establishments, the media, and the academics, all of whom have eroded the country's will and capacity to defend itself even against what he dismisses as "a sub-state terrorist organization." Caroline Glick, another columnist of great force, passes the blanket judgment that "every aspect of the government's handling of the war has been a failure." Yossi Klein Halevi, a measured commentator, speaks of the country's "broken heart," while Ze'ev Schiff, the foremost military analyst, has the metaphor of "a slap in the face." To make matters worse, Halutz, the chief of staff, unloaded stock shares a few hours before hostilities were general knowledge, and Olmert is under investigation for acquiring a house at far less than its market value allegedly in return for bending planning regulations—Ari Shavit calls him a "dead man walking." The expectation is for a general election, and all manner of dramatic political and personal fallout.

In contrast, Arabs and Muslims are boasting of a great victory. To begin with, Sunni countries like Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia were dismayed that Shia Iran looked like landing the entire Muslim world in a dangerous adventure. As Hezbollah continued to hold off Israel, however, and to inflict damage with its rockets, this caution exploded into triumphalism. Hezbollah and its leader Sheikh Hassan Nasrallah have emerged as popular heroes. Sunni Muslims are growing accustomed to the novelty that they need not despise Shia Muslims as they have traditionally done, since together they can defeat and destroy Israel, and afterwards the United States.

This worldview has messianic undertones springing from the sense that Islam is God's ordering for the whole of humanity. To argue with it is futile. The culture further assigns honor and dignity to the victorious, and shame to the defeated, and there can be no arguing with that either. So in Damascus President Bashar al-Assad proclaims to a meeting of Syrian journalists that "the Golan will be liberated by Syrian hands," while in reality he makes sure that Syria fights Israel only through Hezbollah. So Hamas leaders promise to follow the Hezbollah example and uproot Israel, while in reality they know that thanks to Hezbollah they will not now be building a Palestinian state on the West Bank anytime soon. A commander of the Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades on the West Bank similarly insists, "Our brothers demonstrated what we have felt in recent years: Israel [is] falling apart. Next time Iran will be in [the] picture with missiles on Tel Aviv and it will be easier." So hundreds of thousands of Shia villagers are returning to the ruins of their homes in southern Lebanon, knowing in their heads that Hezbollah has brought death and destruction on them, but maintaining aloud that victory is theirs. The imperative of honor invariably trumps reality.

The present ceasefire leaves much unfinished business to swell Israeli disappointments and Muslim expectations.

The present ceasefire is even more precarious than ceasefires resulting from Israel's previous wars; it leaves so much unfinished business to swell Israeli disappointments and Muslim expectations. Sheikh Nasrallah is buying support with offers of compensation to Lebanese whose lives and livelihoods he has wrecked, though in that case Iran will have to pay hundreds of millions of dollars. He vows not to disarm. Iran and Syria are restocking Hezbollah arsenals, and Israel has already staged a commando raid in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley as a defensive measure.

The Lebanese army can contribute little or nothing; the majority of its soldiers are Shia and active Hezbollah supporters, while the officer corps contains many Christians. Any order from the Lebanese government to disarm Hezbollah therefore has the potential to spark the sectarian warfare that is the country's bane. In any case, Emile Lahoud, the president of Lebanon in title but in practice the servant of Syria and Iran, has—along with Prime Minister Fouad Siniora and the cabinet—made it clear that Hezbollah is free to do as it pleases, as before. In effect, Hezbollah has staged a coup in Lebanon, securing Iran's front line against the West.

In the past, United Nations forces have proved impotent to keep the peace between Israel and the Arabs, and on occasion they have been positively harmful. Resolution 1701 is a repeat of the flaws and fudging that are the U.N.'s stock in trade. Tragicomedy afflicts these multilateral enterprises. At the moment, the number of troops available to the U.N. is as vague as the timing of their arrival. Their rules of engagement are equally vague. Countries volunteering to send contingents are unwilling to undertake the task that the Israelis did not complete of mastering Hezbollah and thereby attracting the jihadist hostility of Iran. In a sudden flash of insight—or fear—even France, keen to take the lead in the Middle East, has cut down the numbers it first offered. Israel cannot accept troops from Muslim countries that do not recognize it. So Israeli forces may have to remain occupying a buffer zone in southern Lebanon, as after the 1982 invasion. At this stage of its fateful struggle against Western hegemony, Iran has brought about some sort of repeat of the Phony War that followed the Polish campaign of 1939. **NR**

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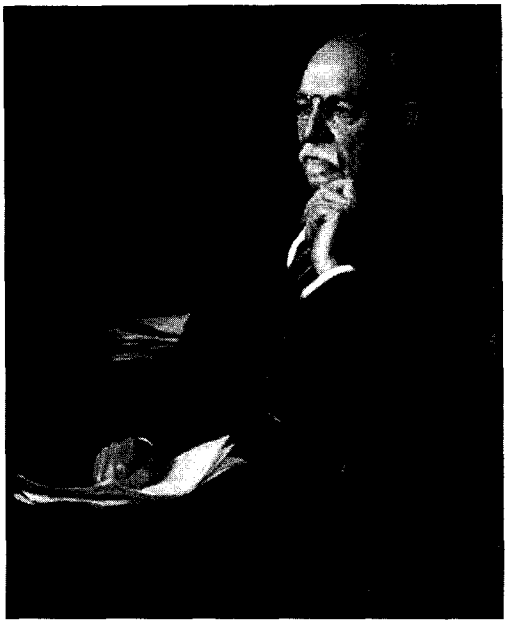
The Addict Who Invented Modern Surgery

At the beginning of the drug war in 1914 a public health survey of narcotics addicts found that "a very large proportion of the users...were respectable hard-working individuals in all walks of life..." It seems shocking now to hear that 80 percent of these "dope fiends" had jobs, homes and reputations but the medical literature is filled with addicts on maintenance doses who functioned normally throughout their lives. One of the most remarkable was Dr. William Stewart Halsted.



He was already a prominent surgeon in Manhattan while still in his twenties. Shortly after the Civil War Dr. Halsted discovered that cocaine could be used as a local anesthetic – a major leap for modern surgery. But Halsted was also experimenting on himself and he found that when he injected the drug into a vein he got a rush that was better than sex.

To wean him off his ferocious cocaine habit Halsted's friends chartered a schooner and shipped him off to the Virgin Islands. They managed to keep him clean for a couple of months but as soon as he hit the beach he started shooting up again. In a last ditch effort he checked himself into a hospital in Providence and through sheer will power he was completely cured. Or so the story went.

Halsted's skill and ingenuity as a surgeon made him world famous and in 1886 he joined three other renowned physicians to create Johns Hopkins Hospital. His private life was as exemplary as his dazzling medical career and he died peacefully at 70. The fairytale would have ended there except for the little black book.

On the eightieth anniversary of Johns Hopkins the book was opened according to the instructions of its author, Sir William Osler, and in it was the "secret history" of the Hopkins. It turns out that Halsted had cured his cocaine habit by switching to morphine. In other words, one of the four founders of Johns Hopkins was a morphine addict for over forty years, and while one colleague knew all about it, the others never suspected. Throughout his career Halsted tried to kick but he was never able to get by with less than 180 milligrams a day. "On this," said Dr. Osler, "he could do his work comfortably and maintain his excellent physical vigor."

Halsted's story is revealing not only because it shows that a morphine addict on the proper maintenance dose can be productive. It also illustrates the incredible power of the drug in question. Here was a man with almost unlimited resources-moral, physical, financial, medical—who tried everything he could think of and he was hooked until he the day he died.

Today we would send a man like that to prison. Instead he became the father of modern surgery.

Common Sense for Drug Policy
www.CommonSenseDrugPolicy.org www.DrugWarFacts.org
www.ManagingChronicPain.org www.MedicalMJ.org
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Text excerpted from *Drug Crazy*, Mike Gray, Random House 1998

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■ TERRORISM

Terror in The Skies

And some down-to-earth lessons

ANDREW C. McCARTHY

A BREATHTAKING jihadist plot to blow as many as ten U.S. airliners out of the trans-Atlantic sky after take-off from London's Heathrow Airport could well have reprised the horror of 9/11. Still, however thankful all of us must be about the two dozen arrests that have taken place in England and Pakistan since August 10, the preemption of this scheme will prove very discomfiting for liberals and civil-libertarian extremists who have barnstormed for five years against all sensible counterterrorism measures.

First and foremost, the successful thwarting of this plot demonstrates again that there is no substitute for spies. While the investigation was a model of international cooperation and brought to bear several sophisticated surveillance techniques, it appears to have been triggered by an informant's tip—after which authorities managed to infiltrate the terror plot with an undercover agent. While perhaps not privy to the highest echelon of the vast conspiracy—which may have involved more than four dozen operatives—the agent gave investigators access to key details over many months.

Spies—known in the trade as "human intelligence"—have been a much-neglected element of the American counterterrorism debate. We have focused, instead, on such legal esoterica as procedures for wiretapping and access to business records. This reflects an oddity in the civil-libertarian worldview, because there is no investigative tactic more intrusive, more violative of privacy, than government's deployment of undercover agents and confidential informants. Yet no prior judicial permission is necessary before they may be sent into a house of worship (or any common area), or invited into the private home of a suspect, or tasked to record their own conversations with investigative targets—even though they are plainly misrepresenting themselves. The lack of complaint over this from activists set on auto-thrombosis over such comparative trifles as government access to library records may be calculated. After all, the tactic is not merely incontestably legal; it is dramatically more effective than any other in preventing terrorism and violent crime.

Most of the prominent national-security cases of the 1990s—when terrorism was regarded as a crime to be prosecuted rather than an act of war to be preempted—involved completed attacks and the consequent loss of life. Only once did law enforcement actually manage to disrupt a plot, amass compelling evidence against all the participants, and convict them. That was the so-called "Day of Terror" conspiracy in 1993 to bomb New York City landmarks. As it happens, I led that investigation, but what was different about it had nothing to do with the prosecutors, agents, or even the terrorists. The difference was human intelligence: an informant who provided a window into the plot as it was unfolding. This saved thousands of lives.

Despite the obvious importance of such measures, the capacity of the U.S. intelligence community to plant moles in the terror networks most threatening to Americans was drastically degraded after the Cold War, particularly during the Clinton years. Thus, real public attention to this topic would severely damage the credentials of many a grandstanding critic of "intelligence failure." Dots, after all, must be collected before they can be connected. As such critics, naturally, are celebrated allies of privacy activists, spying is a topic better left unexplored.

Even more inconvenient for Bush-bashers is the role of coercive interrogation tactics. It now seems clear that the audacious British plan was stopped in the very late stages—and suspects were abruptly rounded up before they could either start the bombing or flee—because Pakistani authorities arrested top suspect Rashid Rauf and subjected him to questioning that, to put it mildly, did not involve Miranda warnings or other enlightened Western practices.

Did the coercion of Rauf amount to torture? Even if not, is it morally acceptable to take and act on information generated by coercive measures—such as, say, sleep deprivation—in order to save thousands of innocent lives? These should be excruciating questions, given the high-minded rhetoric that drove last year's passage of the McCain amendment barring "cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment" of detainees.

Obviously, torture is a third rail. Although it is easy to imagine worse evils, it is also easy to understand why civilized people would insist on an absolute ban (even as many of them privately hope some Jack Bauer type will ignore the ban when extreme circumstances arise). But does it really make sense, in a threat environment dominated by terrorists bent on mass murder, to prohibit *any* type of "degrading" treatment—whatever that hopelessly vague term may mean—if resorting to it could prevent civilian jumbo jets from being exploded in flight?

Like interrogation, detention has been a counterterror hot button since 9/11. With the smashing of the airplane plot, it has also become focal to an argument about whether British or American law provides the superior counterterrorism arsenal. It would be illusory, though, to pronounce either system "better" overall: Each has features the other should consider adopting.

England has abundant terrorism experience, including its struggles with the IRA. Consequently, it is more hard-wired toward intelligence and the prevention of attacks than the U.S., which, until recently, had little need to worry about preventing catastrophic strikes and thus emphasized investigation and prosecution. Detention practice is one of several areas in which this difference is palpable. In England, preventive detention is unabashedly legal and thought particularly appropriate for combating terrorism. Suspects can be arrested and held for up to four weeks without being charged. The internal debate in the U.K. involves not whether preventive detention is warranted, but whether 28 days is *enough*.

In the U.S., preventive detention absent formal charges is generally impermissible. Thus the government, confronted by the present-day reality that there is often insufficient usable evidence to charge potential terrorists who can't responsibly be allowed to walk the streets, has had to find round-

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about ways to sideline dangerous suspects. This has resulted in the controversial use of material-witness arrest warrants (which are really designed to preserve testimony, not prevent violence or build cases against those thus detained) and immigration offenses as a proxy for terrorism charges. The U.S. would do well to adopt the English detention practice. It allows government to move rapidly, and it is reasonable (reasonableness being the touchstone of our Fourth Amendment).

The U.S. should emphatically *not* adopt the British practice on wiretapping, even though it, too, also appears to have played an important part in disrupting the airplane plot. Much has been made of the fact that British eavesdropping authority is easier to obtain: The Brits need not go to a court; a high-ranking government official may order monitoring. Nonetheless, England pays a weighty price for this lower hurdle. Wiretap evidence, which is the backbone of most major American criminal cases, is not admissible in any British prosecution, terrorism or otherwise. Essentially, the British have elevated intelligence issues—specifically, the concern that admitting electronic-surveillance evidence in court would compromise intelligence methods—over the need to build strong cases. The result? The Brits may be more apt to stop an attack, but they are far less likely than their American counterparts to convict terrorists and get them sentenced to very long terms that effectively end their terrorist careers. In the long run, moreover, it is dubious that they will actually thwart more attacks: Above all other incentives, it is the threat of prosecution and lengthy incarceration that induces culpable actors to cooperate and provide vital intelligence.

Viable prosecutions will always be a mainstay of any effective terrorism-prevention strategy. Nevertheless, the British success shows that equally essential are commonsense steps that have been relentlessly libeled by privacy-obsessed activists since 9/11. In addition to rapidly establishing telecommunications surveillance (in a way that may not have been possible under the sclerotic standards of the 1978 U.S. Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act), British investigators monitored money transfers between the plotters—an activity similar to that for which the Bush administration was castigated when the *New York Times* and other publications exposed its Terrorist Finance Tracking Program. And British investigators reportedly made use of sneak-and-peek search operations—a tactic that came under absurd assault during the Patriot Act debate, but that has long been deemed entirely proper under the Constitution and is critical to government's ability to obtain significant evidence without ending investigations prematurely.

We are reading today about two dozen arrests rather than 2,000 murders because investigative tactics consistent with vibrant civil liberties were adeptly employed. Heading into the fall elections, Republicans would do well to remind Americans that they are the ones who fought to preserve those tools. **NR**

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■ TERRORISM II

Divided Hearts

The 'comfort' of knowing that most Muslims don't wish us dead

THEODORE DALRYMPLE

On the day on which the plot to blow up ten airliners between Britain and America was revealed to the public, I took a long taxi ride in a British city in which a good proportion of the taxi drivers are Muslim. My driver was Muslim, and I had more than enough time to talk to him.

We lamented the state of the world in general, and in particular the uncontrolled and vile public drunkenness of British youth that makes the life of taxi drivers a hazardous misery once the sun goes down. (It so happens I was on my way to a prison to prepare an entirely pointless medical report on a young man who, while drunk, had attacked a taxi driver.)

"I think religious belief makes people behave better," he said. "Provided no one tries to compel anyone else or uses violence."

Amen to that: I agreed with him, though secretly I thought the chances slender of a religious revival among debauched British youth. The driver was a kindly, well-mannered man, and the classic immigrant success story: His children had progressed without difficulty into the professional middle class. He was, then, the archetypal moderate Muslim, whose public representatives Mr. Blair's government so persistently seeks, in the forlorn hope that they will do the security services' work for them.

Despite my liking for the driver as an individual, whom I adjudged sincere in his moderation, I could not entirely dismbarrass myself of a residual prejudice against him: He was, after all, a Muslim, and I recognized in myself something discreditable that has become visceral, not under fully conscious control, namely a distrust of more than a billion people because of their religion.

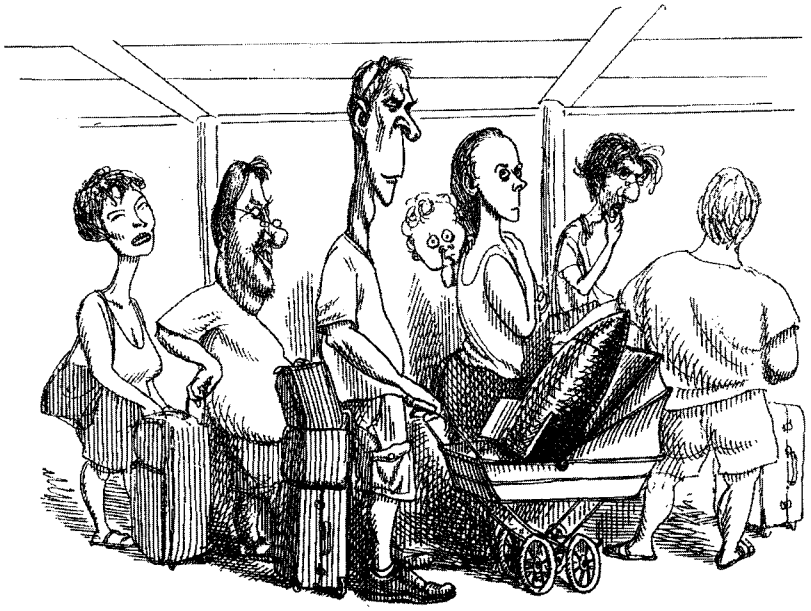
It was not always so. In my youth and young adulthood, I traveled widely in the Muslim world—in the Middle and Far East, Central Asia, and parts of Africa—and I was not aware of any anti-Islamic feeling whatsoever. On the contrary, I saw—superficially, no doubt, for I spoke none of their languages and did not tarry long—many virtues in the people among whom I traveled. They (by which, of course, I mean the men) were usually extremely dignified and very hospitable. I feared for neither my safety nor my possessions while among them. Even in Nigeria, where the people cheerfully said of themselves, "There is no such thing as an honest Nigerian," the Muslim North was conspicuously more honest than the Christian and animist South. I witnessed a hue and cry in a northern market, in which a thief was chased and then beaten. It was crude and vicious, no doubt, but more effective than, for example, the British police in the suppression of petty crime. Larceny on a grand scale was another thing altogether: The northern politicians were specialists in it. But you could leave your belongings in the middle of a town and find them still there when you returned.

So my prejudice is of recent, not distant, origin. Of course, I had long realized that the political traditions of the Muslim world were very different from those of my own country, and in my opinion inferior to them; but that was true of much of the globe, and extensive travel had taught me that the nature, virtues, and charms of a society were not completely captured by a description of its political institutions. Politics is not all.

The Islamists have changed all that. No doubt that was their intention: They invited, and wanted, a binary view of the world in order to overcome and defeat the half of it that they consider ungodly, evil, and an impediment to perfection on earth, and not coincidentally to their absolute power. Their success has been to instill apocalyptic visions in people who were previously immune to them.

So as I rode in the taxi, the word *taqiyya*, usually translated as "dissimulation," kept running through my mind like a refrain. *Taqiyya* is the principle by which a Muslim may disavow his religious beliefs if it is necessary for him to do so. I am no Islamic scholar, but it seems to me that the application of the concept has been extended. Where once it meant that a Muslim could deny his faith if he were threatened with death unless he abjured it, it has come to mean lying to promote any religiously desired end. *Taqiyya* has always been more important for Shia than for Sunni Muslims, but is permitted to the latter.

On www.al-islam.org, I found the following, allegedly true story: A Shia and a



ROMAN GENN

Mr. Dalrymple is a contributing editor of *City Journal* and the author, most recently, of *Romancing Opiates: Pharmacological Lies and the Addiction Bureaucracy.*

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Sunni Muslim were traveling to London to attend an Islamic conference. En route, the two of them discussed the need for unity between the two main branches of Islam, and the Sunni argued that the Shia resort to *taqiyya* was an obstacle to that unity. At London Airport, the Sunni told the immigration officer that he had come to England to seek medical treatment, while the Shia said that he had come to visit friends. The Sunni said to the Shia afterwards that an Islamic conference provided healing for the soul, while the Shia said that it provided an opportunity to visit friends. According to the author of the article on the Web, both had indulged in laudable and justifiable *taqiyya*.

This is not *taqiyya* to save life: No one was threatening the two of them with death unless they entered Britain. It was lying because the end was believed to justify the means, and possibly for the sheer malicious pleasure of deceiving someone (an infidel immigration officer) you cannot believe to be the equal to yourself.

If such a story is held up as a moral example, as something Muslims could and should learn from in their everyday dealings with the non-Muslim world, it cannot be much of a surprise that non-Muslims begin to grow suspicious of even the most decent of the Ummah. And this feeling of mistrust is bound to have grown because so many of the bombers and would-be bombers appeared for a long time to be perfectly integrated into British society. A man with a friendly manner and a pleasant expression, a conscientious teaching assistant by day, turns out to be a suicide bomber by night, ready to die so long as he takes as many complete strangers with him as he can. If he could not be trusted, if he was harboring such murderous hatred in his heart despite all outward appearances, which Muslim can be trusted?

The problem is all the greater because surveys among Muslims have consistently shown a high level of support for suicide bombers. Even "moderates" who are wheeled onto the broadcast media to defuse incipient and potentially dangerous conflict say that, while they deplore the violence, they "understand" it: that is to say, that they believe the extremists are not really, or not wholly, to blame.

Of course, surveys are notoriously difficult to interpret. They are, in fact, invitations to *taqiyya*. Moreover, the relation between expressed opinion and action is unclear. A lot depends upon how a question is put, and opposite answers can sometimes be obtained merely by a change of wording. Much also depends on the representative nature of the sample canvassed. And so forth.

Even with all these reservations in mind, however, it is far from encouraging to learn that (if one survey is to be believed) 100,000 British Muslims approve of the suicide bombing of Britain, or at least are prepared to say that they do to people who ask them in confidence. It is difficult to believe that this is not a soil propitious to the growth of terrorism. And from the point of view of the rest of the population, is it more significant that 1.5 million Muslims don't approve of such bombing? Is it much of a consolation to know that, in a crowd in which there is someone who is determined to kill you, there are many more people who have no such desire?

Likewise, should we be grateful for the fact that fully 70 percent of British Muslims (again, if a survey is to be believed) do not think that British Jews are a legitimate target, that is to say may rightfully be killed at random? If you were a Jewish employer, would you be happy to take on a Muslim employee secure in the knowledge that there is only a one in three chance of his believing that it is religiously permitted, perhaps even religiously required, to kill you?

There is no doubt that the Islamist strategy is working at the moment. It will destroy the possibility of normal human contact of the kind that inhibits prejudice and mollifies hatred, and sow only suspicion and violence in the hope of attaining a total and final victory after some kind of apocalypse. In the end, however, I don't think the strategy will work—in the modern world, Islam itself is too much of an intellectual nullity, just as Marxism was, for it to triumph. Moreover, diseases tend to decline in virulence as epidemics wane. Short-term, I am pessimistic; long-term, which is perhaps to say after my death, I am optimistic. **NR**

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■ CULTURE WATCH

American Testosterone

Hummers, carrots, and other things

FLORENCE KING

If you really want to know what's happening, go get another cup of coffee when the news comes on and get back in time for the commercials. They've always been revealing, but Hummer's "Restore Your Manhood" spot is a 30-second State of the Union.

In case you were bitten recently by the tsetse fly, it goes like this: Two young men are in a grocery checkout. The first is buying tofu, organic veggies, and skim milk. Directly behind him in the line is the second young man, whose basket is full of beef ribs, potato chips, and pizza. The sight of all that macho fare makes the first young man cringe in shame and sends him straight to the GM dealership where he buys a Hummer on the spot. As he's driving away in it, smiling proudly, the message "Restore Your Manhood" flashes on the screen.

Even I did a double-take the first time I saw it. My instant analysis, that it was a masterpiece of self-parody, lasted all of two seconds before I came to my senses. American automakers are so constitutionally incapable of self-parody that if their advertisers were foolish enough to bring it up, they probably would think it was a new cruise-control button for driving in parades; words like nuance and oblique have no meaning for them except as sexy-sounding names for new models.

Hummer must therefore have intended the pitch to be taken straight and had to have known how it would be received by the usual suspects. Did they deliberately set out to enrage feminists, gays, vegetarians, environmentalists, and PETAbears all at the same time? True, there are no Hummer buyers among them, but these are the people who throw things, burn things, and run naked through things. If real men like to confront obstacles, Hummer was supplying their customer base with a gantlet.

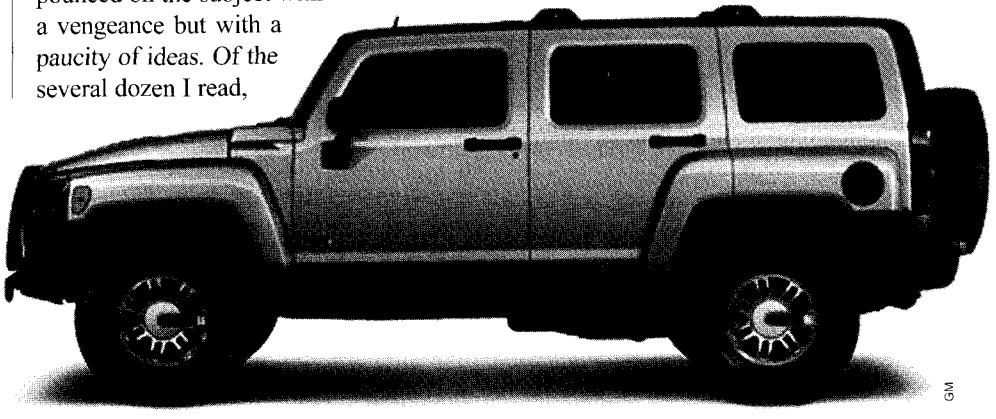
As the ad continued to air, my interpretive juices flowed. Next I decided that Hummer was appealing to the silent majority's seething resentment of political correctness. Most Americans agree that it's wrong to use outright slurs; what galls them is having to flag their vocabulary to avoid the landmines set to explode when someone trips over a subtle undercurrent. For example, it's okay to say "masculinity" because you might be getting ready to condemn it, but you can't say "manhood" because whatever you say next is bound to be something good.

What else? Well, Hummer might be appealing to political swagger, saying, in effect, that American might well conquer the Middle East and cause the oil wells to flow like milk and honey, and if it doesn't we'll dig up Alaska. Or maybe they were banking on the power of reverse psychology: "If the wusses keep telling me not to buy a gas-guzzler, I'll by-God buy one." Or maybe they were striving for a profitable combination of nostalgia and patriotism. The Hummer is copied from the HumVee combat vehicle used by American troops in Iraq, so the public might come to regard it with the same affection we felt for the WWII Jeep.

Or maybe they just wanted to get people talking and writing about the ad. To find out, I googled HUMMER MANHOOD AD, and sure enough, I was not alone. The bloggers and their hit men—there were almost no female respondents—had pounced on the subject with a vengeance but with a paucity of ideas. Of the several dozen I read, only a handful said anything interesting or even coherent. A vet challenged the tofu buyer, "Join the army and drive a real one!" A snob observed loftily, "The only kind of men this ad could persuade are those who can't afford the $48,000 sticker price." And an earnest family-values booster droned on about being a good husband and father in a tract consisting entirely of clichés.

The rest was nothing more than an adolescent cleverness contest couched in a monotonous stream of obscenities that pulsated with brutal, mocking anger. The consensus of opinion was that any man who bought a Hummer must be underendowed, rendered by many respondents with the juvenile phrase "a teeny-weeny wienie." It all boiled down to the S-word, the F-word, and a list of everybody and everything that sucks: driving, not driving, eating meat, eating vegetables, Bush, supermarket scanners, Cheney, card-swiping machines, Rumsfeld, plastic bags, and people who make a point of asking for paper bags in a loud voice to advertise their eco fides when they're really destroying trees SUCK BIG TIME! TURN THEIR F***ING CHAIN SAWS ON THE F***ERS!

It had nothing to do with the Hummer ad. It was Web Rage, virtually indistinguishable from every other site treating of a controversial subject: the same tightly wound frustration, the same vicious outbursts, the same inarticulate vulgarity, and the same overabundance of males revealing the same things about themselves that they reveal in similar eruptions of Road Rage. American young men are mad, as mad as hell, but they have little choice about whether to take it anymore. Products of a society that views adult manhood as a politically incorrect threat to be held



GM

Florence King's NATIONAL REVIEW columns are collected in *STET, Damnit!: The Misanthrope's Corner, 1991 to 2002.*

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up to ridicule and rendered inadequate, they are incapable of the towering rage of Lear or the baleful imprecations of Achilles. Infantilized by a hostile culture, they cannot rise above the sputtering, foot-stamping tantrums of Rumpelstiltskin.

Our feminized public schools know how to stamp out foot-stamping males. Operating on the principle that the XY chromosome is a genetic disorder, they use Ritalin to soothe the rumpled beast. When it wears off, our feminized counseling industry stands ready to remake maleness in its own image. Their latest success is born-again Road Rage, recently renamed "Intermittent Explosive Disorder" and given the jaunty nickname IED. As with the earlier "anger management," the name triggers visions of a panicky hostess desperately trying to keep the peace when two of her guests square off; helplessly fluttering her hands, changing the subject, offering more chocolate mousse, anything to get them to make nice. This is the way of the woman-dominated counseling industry. Admit you were bad and "seek help"; operators are standing by.

When women are bottled up they raise the selflessness bar and get more bottled up. When men are bottled up they either engineer a self-immolation scenario worthy of a Wagner opera, or else they simply curl up and die. Twentysomething men seem to be opting for the latter. College is no longer the place to catch a husband. For the first time ever, female undergraduates outnumber men by some 2 million, compared with the ecstatic ratio of four men to every woman that prevailed in my student days in the 1950s. Women now earn slightly more than half of business-school bachelor's degrees, and their enrollment in medical and law schools is up to 50 percent.

Though young men may be giving up on the professions, they haven't given up on the oldest one. The 40-year-old woman realtor who was murdered in a model home in Texas told her ex-husband that her online dating service had paired her with several men 15 years her junior, and that they all wanted to move in with her and let her support them.

The gold standard of manhood restrained is Brad Pitt, who seems to have curled up and died in the arachnoid clutches of Angelina Jolie. His cocky grin started to fade after Jolie, announcing her condition in a news conference, used the words "When we found out we were pregnant . . ." Now he looks dazed and glassy-eyed as he passively follows behind her in his backwards baseball cap, wandering through Africa saving children. Somebody give that man a Hummer before it's too late.

Actually, it's already too late because Hummer recently changed their ad. Now when the health-food guy drives off in his new two-ton toy, he bites into a raw carrot and the screen flashes the words "Restore the Balance." Nice try, GM. You came to the rescue of American manhood for three whole weeks. **NR**

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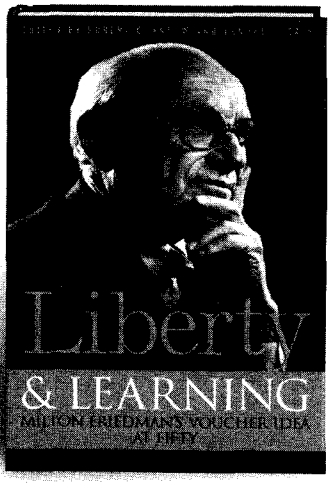

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Last Chance for Iraq?

A symposium on the war

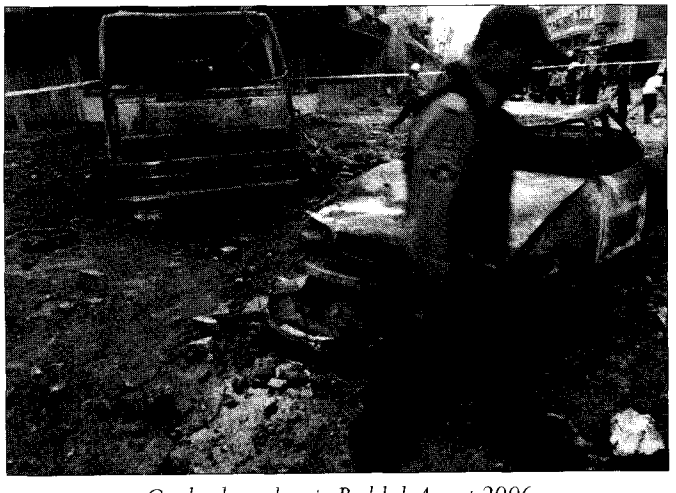
No issue has so shaped America's recent politics or defined its present role in the world as the Iraq War. NR asked a symposium of military experts, geopolitical thinkers, Middle East scholars, and conservative writers the two paramount questions: Are we winning; and, if not, how can we? Here is what they had to say.

DAVID FRUM

THE U.S. HAS NOT YET LOST IN IRAQ, BUT IT IS ON THE VERGE OF losing at home. Public opinion has turned strongly against the war, driven both by a torrent of bad news over the past three years and, especially, by the explosion of sectarian violence in Baghdad this summer. What's most urgently needed now is a strategy to restore order and government authority in Baghdad. A visible success in Iraq's highly televised capital would in turn strengthen resolve at home.

Will 4,000 U.S. troops redeployed from elsewhere in Iraq suffice to do the job? I don't know anyone who thinks that they will. Not for the first time, we are left to wonder: Does the Bush administration truly believe Iraq is as important as it says it is?

If we are to believe the administration's words—if Iraq is truly the central front in the war on terror—then what's needed now is a reinforcement of enough U.S. troops to retake Baghdad sector by sector and block by block, as the French retook Algiers in 1959. The operation would have to be conducted sensitively, with Iraqi forces visibly in the lead. At the same time, the U.S. would have to undertake a much more serious effort to sever the connections between Iran and its proxies in Iraq: not only doing a better job sealing the border, although that is important, but also engaging in political action to remove pro-Iranian officials from Iraqi ministries and security services.



CEERWAN AZIZ/REUTERS

Car-bomb wreckage in Baghdad, August 2006

A dramatic and visible success in the capital would restore morale in the U.S.—and enhance the credibility of the elected government in Iraq.

But make no mistake: A fight like that would represent a major escalation of the U.S. commitment to Iraq, a reversal of an 18-month-long policy of de-escalation and de-commitment. And if the Bush administration, for its own reasons, cannot or will not do what is now necessary to win—well then, it had better begin seriously contemplating a fallback position, a Plan B. As it is, the sacrifices of U.S. troops and the effusion of U.S. treasure are succeeding only in slowing the pace of U.S. failure.

Mr. Frum is the author (with Richard Perle) of *An End to Evil: How to Win the War on Terror.*

NEWT GINGRICH

TODAY, IRAQ IS CERTAINLY NOT WHERE, IN EARLY 2003, WE HAD hoped it would be. If the current violence, instability, and confusion are measured against the planning assumptions of that period, this campaign to create a free and stable Iraq is clearly failing. What is still neither understood nor accepted is that Iraq is only one campaign in an emerging Third World War. Iraq is to our generation what Guadalcanal and North Africa were in the Second World War—important, but part a much bigger picture.

In that context, we must "think and act anew" to deal effectively in the much larger global conflict against the forces of terrorism and dictatorial regimes. Within that framework, we need a new commitment to winning in Iraq as one of the key campaigns in winning the larger war. The first step is to face some hard truths about Iraq, so we can fix the problems for the wider war:

- Our enemies' communications campaign is radically better than our own and all of our efforts to improve have been trivial compared with our opponents' agility and pervasiveness.
- Our intelligence capabilities inside Iraq remain weak five years after 9/11.
- Our language capabilities remain minimal.

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• Our civilian instruments of national power remain lethargic and expensive.

• We have failed to deliver on our promises to the people of Iraq.

• We remain confused about our goals. Senior leaders continue to use terms with neutral connotations ("civil war") or positive ones ("insurgency") to describe the actions of uncivilized, brutal killers who are trying to defeat a government for which 80 percent of the Iraqis voted.

America has historically adapted quickly to the realities of war, and we can again—but it requires frankness from our elected leaders. The American people will support what it takes to win if offered a coherent, grounded path toward victory. It starts by ending the failures they see every day in the news.

Mr. Gingrich, former Speaker of the House, is a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and the author of *Winning the Future: A 21st Century Contract with America.*

MARK HELPRIN

ALTHOUGH IN GUERRILLA WAR CONTROL OF TERRITORY GUARANTEES little, after three and a half years we are not even safe in the Green Zone. Our civil projects, ambitious and elementary alike, are rotting and abandoned. With his left hand, the enemy continues to inflict upon us the steady accumulation of almost 3,000 American dead, while with his right he fights a savage civil war that we cannot stop, and arms for conventional battles to come.

Our combat arms are demoralized, our downwardly adjusted recruitment goals often unmet, our staple military strengths diminished as we suppress and neglect funding and upkeep, and our allies are leaving from embarrassment that we should fail and proclaim success nonetheless. We have shifted from righteous

KARIM SAHIB/AFP

Baghdad, August 2006

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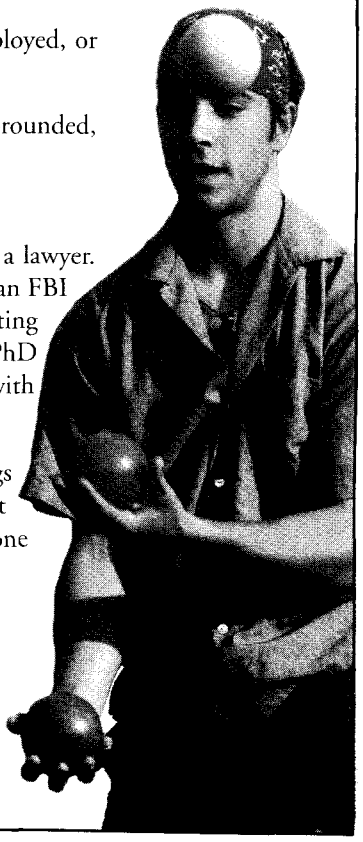

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self-defense, and with 130,000 soldiers and a lot of machines mean to convert a score of nations and 1.2 billion people to our way from theirs, the most stubborn, static, and fanatical in history. These are long sentences, but it has been a long war.

What might we do now that the patient is nearly dead? Fear of Iran forces us to resist the division of Iraq even as it divides before our eyes, but the Persians have not moved west since ancient times. Long lines of supply, mountains, deserts, and the whole of the Arab world have and will prevent this: Our air power alone could stop the Iranian military from such an extension.

Thus we should let Iraq divide according to natural equilibrium as inevitably it will, remount our armies, and base them in the desert safe from insurgency and able to reach Baghdad, Damascus, and Riyadh quickly and in strength to liquidate regimes that will not otherwise be coerced to eliminate the terrorists within their borders. Such regimes are or would be police states that could and—because they live to rule—would do so were we to imperil their existence. It is what we should have done in the first place, although it is now very late in the game.

Mr. Helprin, a senior fellow of the Claremont Institute and a visiting fellow of Hillsdale College, is the author, most recently, of the novel *Freddy and Fredericka*. His website is www.MarkHelprin.com.

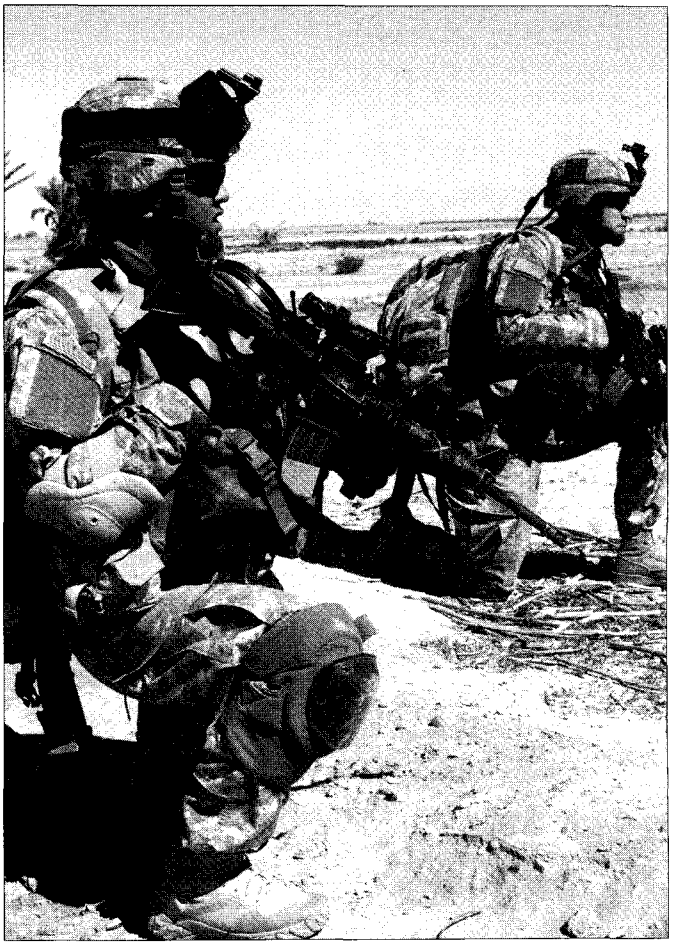
LAWRENCE F. KAPLAN

IT WOULD BE NICE TO ARGUE, AS MANY ARGUED PLAUSIBLY ABOUT Vietnam, that the war is being lost only on the home front. (I have little to say to anyone who still maintains we are winning in Iraq, other than to recommend that he have a look for himself.) It would not, however, be true. The war is being lost on the home front, but it is also being lost in Iraq. There, the Bush

"U.S. troops are the only thing standing between what we see on our television sets today and butchery on a scale that would rival the worst of Saddam Hussein's depredations."

administration's self-defeating preoccupation with keeping troop levels to a paltry minimum has all but guaranteed defeat. The other side has had a say in all this too. Twenty years ago, Gabriel Kolko looked back at Vietnam and wrote, "The nature of South Vietnamese society was not incidental to the U.S. effort, but a critical factor, by itself sufficient to determine whether Washington's fate would be victory or defeat." I think this analysis applies equally to Iraq, where the particulars of Saddam-era Iraqi society can hardly be said to have furthered America's cause.

As to what strategy makes the most sense given all this, the minimum requirement for victory in Iraq (though not a guarantee of it)—adequate levels of manpower—is precisely the requirement that has been rejected by the administration and everyone else besides. Even at their present levels, however,



JEREMY WOOD/ZUMA

U.S. soldiers near Samarra, March 2006

U.S. troops are the only thing standing between what we see on our television sets today and butchery on a scale that would rival the worst of Saddam Hussein's depredations. This does not mean we should garrison Iraq in perpetuity. But it does mean staying until, at a minimum, the Iraqi army has the means to subdue forces unleashed by our own actions.

That we have been reduced to hoping for something not worse than what went in Iraq before the war has profound ideological and geopolitical implications for the United States. But, having urged war on the basis of both, ideology and geopolitics no longer have the same meaning for me. What keeps me up at night, and what informs my conviction that we cannot simply abandon Iraq, are thoughts of Iraqi friends and the American soldiers risking everything in their name.

Mr. Kaplan is a senior editor at *The New Republic*.

ROBERT D. KAPLAN

I SUPPORTED THE INVASION OF IRAQ AND ALSO WARNED OF CHAOS if we did not secure the country fast. Are we losing? Yes. In counterinsurgencies, homefront perceptions and a willingness to win are more important than in conventional infantry struggles. That's because little is obvious in an unconventional battlefield. Victory doesn't simply follow a column of troops marching

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toward an objective. The side that controls the narrative wins the war. In this war, the homefront perceives a quagmire, while both the Defense Department and Central Command do not convey the hunger to win that the insurgents do. It may be that political and institutional constraints are working against our top Army generals and the civilian defense leadership to put them in a truly awful position—but war, like life, is not fair.

A good case can be made for ramping up troop numbers dramatically. A good case can also be made for drastically reducing them, leaving behind a force of Marines and special-operations soldiers embedded in the Iraqi security services: a classic imperial model. Much weaker is the case for what we are doing presently: for example, robbing Mosul of troops in order to move a few thousand to Greater Baghdad. Mosul, though it has made significant progress since 2004, is by no means secure.

"Victory doesn't simply follow a column of troops marching toward an objective. The side that controls the narrative wins the war."

Deserting Vietnam by cutting aid to the South after our military gains between 1968 and 1972 did, in fact, have a very direct domino effect. The cost was paid by millions of lives in Ethiopia, Angola, and elsewhere. The effect of deserting Iraq could be worse. There are two choices: flood Greater Baghdad with troops and take on the followers of Moqtada al-Sadr; or accept a long, small war that, perhaps, we can win over time by getting Iraq out of the headlines and using a variety of methods to undermine Syria and Iran.

Mr. Kaplan, the author of *Imperial Grunts*, is a national correspondent for *The Atlantic Monthly*.

MICHAEL LEDEEN

ARE WE WINNING? NO, IF BY "WINNING" YOU MEAN "ENSURING stability all over Iraq." There are many areas where things are getting worse. Yes, if you mean "expanding areas of stability." Many areas, Kurdistan above all, are quite peaceful. But the "no" part is more important than the "yes" part, because, in key areas such as Baghdad and Basra, things are alarmingly bad.

What to do? First, recognize that the Iraqi enterprise rested on a failure of strategic vision: It was never possible to secure Iraq so long as Iran and Syria were left free to wage terror war against us. Our military, and some Iraqi units, are terrific, but you can't win a regional war by playing defense in one place. It is, as I have said ad infinitum, a sucker's game. Ergo, work for regime change in Iran and Syria, the only way to win the war. Mostly this requires vigorous support of revolution, although we have waited too long and it is more difficult than it once was. If we continue to dither, we will soon face two terrible options: surrender or bomb.

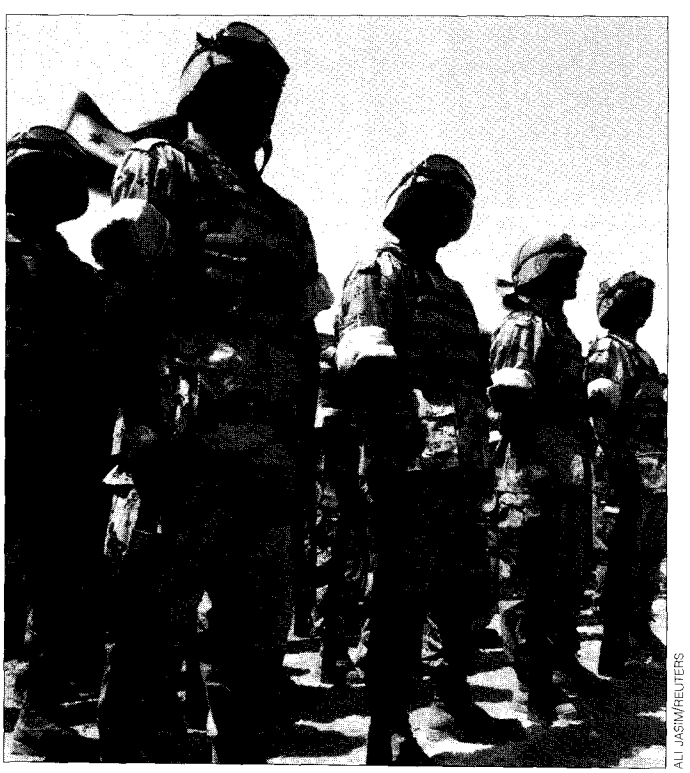
Mr. Ledeen, author most recently of *The War Against the Terror Masters*, is resident scholar in the Freedom Chair at the American Enterprise Institute.

RALPH PETERS

THE REAL QUESTION ISN'T WHETHER AMERICA IS WINNING OR losing, but whether the Arabs are defeating themselves again. Will Iraq be yet another tragic *Arab* failure? Despite profound mistakes during the occupation—especially under the spectacularly inept L. Paul Bremer—we've done everything possible to give Iraq's Arabs, Sunni and Shia, the chance to build a humane, rule-of-law democracy. It is a chance no other power could or would have given them. But seizing that chance is up to them.

The Kurds are doing fine and deserve our continued support if Iraq decomposes. It's still too early to throw up our hands and walk away, but it's high time to consider outcomes short of our hopes and to formulate Plan B (and Plans C, D, E, etc.). Meanwhile, there's a simple test to decide whether we should remain in Iraq much longer: Will Iraqis fight for their own government? The foreign terrorists and home-grown insurgents and militiamen are willing to die for their beliefs. Without an equal strength of will and spirit of sacrifice in support of their elected government, the remaining Iraqis will undoubtedly suffer the rule of the true believers.

I'd give the Iraqis one more year to pull themselves together. If by the summer of 2007 they have not rallied to their government with sufficient commitment to defeat the state's enemies, it will be time for us to leave. While we should avoid any publicized timetables for withdrawal, behind closed doors we must make it clear to Iraq's leaders that, if they can't rise above their squabbling and corruption and seize this chance to build a decent state, we won't remain indefinitely. And we must put an ever-increasing load on Iraq's security forces to avoid exacerbating their current welfare-dependency mindset.



ALI JASIM/REUTERS

Iraqi troops stand guard in Mahmoudiya, south of Baghdad, August 2006

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Yes, it would be a painful loss were Iraq to fail. But beware linear thinking: A post-American-presence civil war in Iraq might not be the worst thing for our strategic purposes. It would rupture the current Iran-Syria alliance and *increase* our value to Iraq's worried neighbors—and it just might become al-Qaeda's Vietnam.

Mr. Peters is a retired U.S. Army officer and the author, most recently, of *Never Quit the Fight.*

MICHAEL RUBIN

THE U.S. IS LOSING IN IRAQ BECAUSE AMERICAN POLITICIANS AND the general public have not decided they want or need to win. Many congressmen look at Iraq through the lens of the 2006 election: They care neither how their words embolden the enemy nor how their grandstanding impacts Iraq. Meanwhile, many commentators have cast accuracy aside to cater to, and cash in on, public ennui.

"While U.S. diplomats have become masters of their cubicles, Iranians have become masters of Iraq."

Iraqis are now as pessimistic as they have ever been. Corruption and organized crime run rampant. True, some metrics are positive: Oil production is on the rebound, shops are opening, agricultural production is up, and defense-ministry forces are increasingly trained and competent. But the corrupt police are running rampant.

While U.S. diplomats have become masters of their cubicles, Iranians have become masters of Iraq. We hold sway over the Green Zone; they hold sway over the rest of the country. Their dominion includes, increasingly, Kurdistan. Why? Because they have provided overwhelming force, patronage, and staying power.

Militias exist to impose through force what they cannot win through the ballot box. Iran exerts its influence through militias, and the U.S. fails to counter them. Left alone, they metastasize. While USAID takes weeks to allocate a paperclip, and months more to study its impact, the militias create elaborate charities to establish themselves in society. Thus Iran is replicating the Hezbollah strategy. It is no accident that Iran's current ambassador to Iraq was formerly Tehran's liaison to the Lebanese terrorist group.

How to win? We're suckers if we trust Iran. In Iraq, we need to cut the supply lines to the militias, roll up Iranian intelligence, and replace Iranian charities with our own patronage. We've got to treat the commanders of Iran's revolutionary guard as the combatants they are. If imposing firm demands pushes Iran toward a fight, we cannot shrink from it. In the Middle East, projecting weakness leads to defeat. Unfortunately, the Rice State Department is all about weakness.

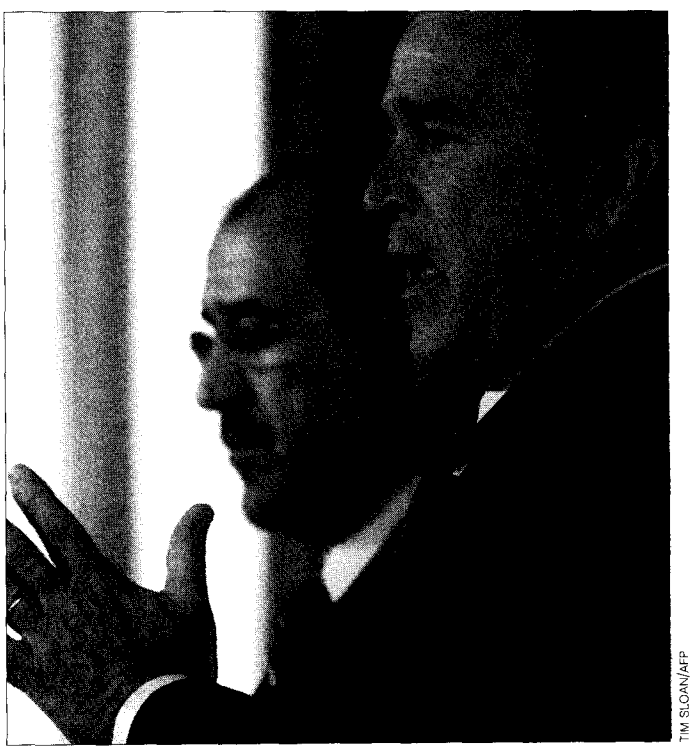
Michael Rubin is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute and the editor of *The Middle East Quarterly.*

MARK STEYN

IF OUR OBJECT WAS MERELY TO TOPPLE A DICTATOR WHOSE continuation in office embodied pre-9/11 America's lack of will, then the war's already won. On the other hand, if the purpose was to demonstrate such strength of will as to deter future troublemakers, then clearly Iraq's been a flop: Assad and the mullahs had far more sleepless nights in the spring of 2003 than they do today.

On the ground, America has allowed its enemies to subvert Iraq with impunity. My model here would be the so-called Confrontation in Indonesia 40 years ago, a conflict so obscure I'll bet most readers have never heard of it. The Indonesians were convinced that the British had set up the new Federation of Malaysia as a neo-colonial puppet regime and so sent "insurgents" across the borders to subvert it and foment coups, secessions, etc. British and Commonwealth forces decided to return the favor and sent troops on lethally effective raids into Indonesia, keeping Jakarta on the defensive and dramatically reducing the amount of mischief they were able to make. The Brits and Aussies and Malays won that one with barely a word of it making the papers. This is exactly what the Americans should be doing with Syria and Iran. Instead, we accept the same de facto one-way traffic flow as applies on the U.S.–Mexico border. This is one reason we wound up hunkered down in the Green Zone. In future, it should be the other fellow who has to have a Green Zone.

As it happens, Iraq will be mostly all right. In a macro-cynical sense, even the apparent strategic error of the war—the enhancement of Iranian prestige through local Shia proxies—is a plus in the long run: When the Tehran regime is gone, the Shia (both Arab and Persian) remain our best shot at a moderate democratic Islam.



TIM SLOAN/AFP

Bush and Maliki, July 2006

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But if Iraq's significance to the U.S. was as a regional trailblazer, then we should rethink it in a regional context. For three years, we've been playing defense.

Mr. Steyn is the author of the forthcoming *America Alone* (Regnery).

BERNARD E. TRAINOR

THE ADMINISTRATION'S YARDSTICK FOR SUCCESS IN IRAQ INCLUDES the following: a working and effective unity government; prevention of sectarian conflict; establishment of an effective military/police security force; minimization of the insurgency; restoration of public services; infrastructure reconstitution; integrity of borders; and prevention of external influence. To the degree these goals are met, U.S. forces can be reduced.

But they are not being met. Notwithstanding some relatively quiet sectors and Prime Minister Maliki's claim that Iraqi forces are prepared to take over security in most of the country, the overall situation is deteriorating.

The hoped-for unity government is fractured along ethnic and sectarian lines, with each group advancing its own agenda. Even in a bureaucratic sense it is not working. Corruption at all levels is endemic. Violence is at an all-time high and getting worse, with Iraqis being killed at the rate of 3,000 a month in the internecine war. The sectarian vigilantes and mafias are running wild. Iran clandestinely supports the Shiite militias. Expectations of success in the much-advertised program to restore security to Baghdad are questionable, given past failures. We have not mastered the insurgent way of war, and do not have enough troops in Iraq to "clear, hold, and build" in insurgent-dominated areas. Daily strikes against coalition forces have doubled since January. The Iraqi army remains pitiful, and the police are not only ineffective but untrustworthy. Efforts to put the country's economy in working order are crippled by insurgent attacks, looting, and corruption.

By just about every measure, our strategy is not succeeding. Common sense would dictate that we cut our losses and get out as soon as feasible, leaving the Iraqis to settle matters in their own way. But that would be taking a leap into the great and highly dangerous unknown, perhaps creating problems more vexing than those we currently face. Opponents of precipitous withdrawal raise "out of the frying pan, into the fire" scenarios—and they may be right. If so, staying the course and working for improvement is the only logical choice unless at some point the chaotic situation absolutely forecloses that option.

Lt. Gen. Trainor retired from the United States Marine Corps in 1985.

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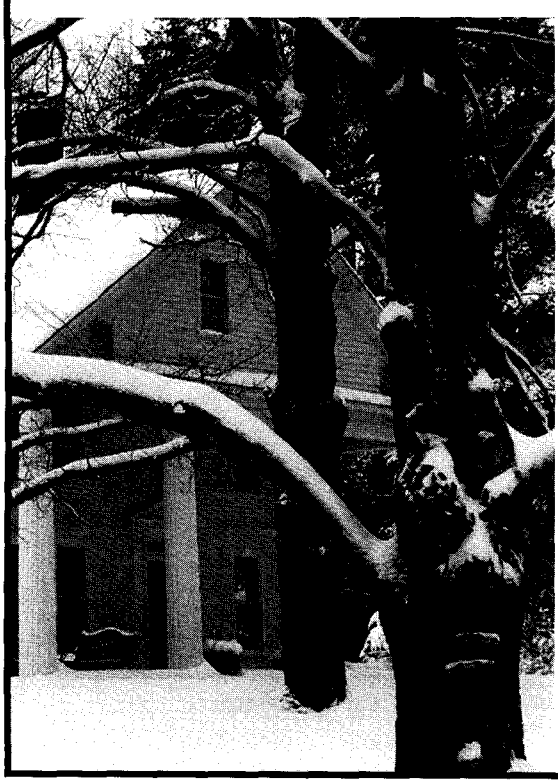

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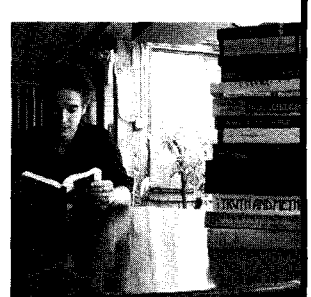

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■ POLITICS

The Death of The Moderate Democrat

And the birth of the 'netroots' party

BYRON YORK

THE scene is one of those Washington cocktail parties so hated by left-wing "netroots" activists—a gathering where politicians and pundits and inside-the-Beltway types meet to gossip, conspire, make deals, and generally sink farther into their morass of inside-the-Beltway corruption. One prominent member of Congress says to a prominent political analyst: "You know, if you think about it, Nancy Pelosi is pretty close to the center of the House Democratic caucus." It seems hard to believe, given that Pelosi, the Minority Leader, is a true-blue San Francisco liberal with a near-perfect 95 rating from the left-wing Americans for Democratic Action. But the analyst starts thinking, starts envisioning the House Democratic lineup, beginning on the left with the Black Caucus, and then the Hispanic Caucus, and then the white lefties, and then Pelosi. In that cast of characters, the congresswoman from San Francisco seems almost, well, centrist. "That doesn't mean she's a moderate," the analyst says, recalling the conversation at the party. "But the Democratic caucus has gone so far to the left that, hell, she's in the middle."

There's been much talk in Washington recently about the fate of "moderate Democrats." These days, Nancy Pelosi *is* a moderate Democrat—if that is defined as standing near the center of the party's ideological spectrum. But the truly moderate Democrat—the type of centrist that has been so maligned by the left-wing blogosphere—is pretty much a thing of the past. Just look at a few numbers.

Americans for Democratic Action rates House members on a scale from 0 to 100 based on how they have voted on issues important to various liberal constituencies. In 1985, when there were 253 Democrats in the House, 20 were ADA "All-Stars"—that is, they had perfect scores of 100. In 2005, when there were 202 Democrats in the House, there were 65 All-Stars. An astonishing 143—about 71 percent of the Democratic caucus—had scores of 90 or above.

By way of comparison, in 1985, when there were 182 Republicans in the House, nine had perfect 100 conservative scores as measured by the American Conservative Union. In 2005, when there were 232 Republicans in the House, 38 of them had perfect ACU scores. A total of 126—about 55 percent of the Republican caucus—had conservative scores of 90 or above.

The numbers are similar in today's Senate, where 22 of 45 Democrats have received the ADA's most liberal rating. Forty Democratic senators—about 90 percent of the Democratic caucus—have ADA ratings of 90 or above. By contrast, out of the Senate's 55 Republicans, only twelve have received the ACU's highest mark. A total of 34 Republicans—about 62 percent of the Republican caucus—have ACU ratings of 90 or above.

The numbers are by no means scientific, and there are some differences in the ADA and ACU ratings systems. But as rough guides to party positioning, the ratings—especially each side's ratings of its own team—measure how well lawmakers satisfy the expectations of interest groups on the left and right. These numbers suggest that, while neither the House nor the Senate is a hotbed of centrism, Democrats in recent years have moved farther to the left than Republicans have to the right.

Today, after years of drifting leftward, Democrats face a dilemma. They are the target of an angry, energized netroots movement that considers the mainstream Democratic party too centrist, too accommodating to Republicans, and insufficiently "progressive" for today's politics. The farther Democrats move to the left, the farther their most passionate constituents prod them along.

THE DEATH OF TRIANGULATION

None of this happened overnight. The Internet organizing group MoveOn.org, a prime mover in the new netroots politics, was founded in 1998 to attack lawmakers who supported the Clinton impeachment. The biggest lefty blog, DailyKos, was founded in 2002. These websites have been agitating for years, but up until now they were associated mostly with failure. In 2000, when MoveOn promised to punish the House impeachment managers at the polls, it failed to oust even a single one. When DailyKos

Ned Lamont

ROMAN GENN

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founder Markos Moulitsas threw his support behind several "progressive" candidates in House races around the country, nearly all of them lost. For a long time, "netroots candidate" was a synonym for "loser."

No longer. In August, the netroots scored their biggest success so far, playing a key role in Ned Lamont's defeat of Sen. Joseph Lieberman (2005 ADA rating: 80) in the Connecticut Democratic primary. While the netroots still haven't defeated a Republican, Lamont's victory has been enough to embolden the angry Left to threaten reprisals against Democrats who don't advocate an immediate pullout of U.S. troops from Iraq. "Friends," wrote the left-wing agitprop filmmaker Michael Moore in an open letter to Democrats, "Let the resounding defeat of Senator Joe Lieberman send a cold shiver down the spine of every Democrat who supported the invasion of Iraq and who continues to support, in any way, this senseless, immoral, unwinnable war." To any lawmaker who does not support "an immediate end to this war," Moore wrote, "allow me to inform you that your days in elective office are now numbered. . . . If you don't believe us, give Joe a call."

Federation of Teachers and his status, as of last November, as a committeeman in Philadelphia's 27th Ward. But he is full of confidence, and he scoffs at those who warn that the netroots are too far out on the fringe to win. "We won't fail because we are too 'left wing,'" Bowers writes. "For starters, I'm not really sure how left-wing many of the leaders of the movement actually are. I am pretty far left, but I speak for myself alone when it comes to that."

Not entirely. Another leader of the netroots, MoveOn's Eli Pariser—who rose to prominence when he started a petition urging the United States not to strike back after the September 11 terrorist attacks—recently declared the death of the Clinton-era strategy of "triangulation." "Seizing the political middle ground no longer makes sense in an era when any attempt at bipartisanship is understood as a sign of Democratic weakness and exploited accordingly," Pariser wrote in the *Washington Post* after Lamont's victory in Connecticut. "With triangulation's passing, a new era of bolder, principle-driven politics can begin."

Of course, Bill Clinton was the only president in his party to be elected and reelected since Franklin D. Roosevelt. But that seems like ancient history—pre-history, actually—in the blogosphere. "The Left interprets Clintonism as a major mistake," says Wittmann. "We lost Congress in '94, we lost, we lost, we lost. Many of these bloggers were not even old enough in the Clinton era [to have] experienced Democrats' being in the wilderness."

Read left-wing blogs for very long and you'll find that many of the most prominent bloggers are at least as contemptuous of centrist Democrats as of Republicans.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that Lamont's primary victory, amplified by threats like Moore's, struck Democrats around the country like a bolt of lightning. "It's going to drive the Democratic presidential primaries to the left on national security and the Iraq War," says Marshall Wittmann of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council, "and it's going to make it difficult for anyone to stand by their decision to vote to authorize the war." The rise of netroots anger, Wittmann adds, will "send the message that centrist hawks are unwelcome in the Democratic party," which could affect the party for years to come.

Of course, for the netroots leaders, that's exactly the point. Read left-wing blogs for very long and you'll find that many of the most prominent bloggers are at least as contemptuous of centrist Democrats as of Republicans. In their view, the last 20 years of the Democratic party—the years in which, according to those ADA ratings, Democratic lawmakers moved steadily leftward—have been a disaster because Democrats did not move *far enough* to the left. "The entire 'move to the center' response of third-way politics from 1985-2005 was a complete failure," writes Chris Bowers, who runs the influential blog MyDD and the political action committee BlogPAC. "If we are going to improve the progressive response to the conservative movement, we cannot simply replicate our past failures."

Although less well-known than Moulitsas and DailyKos, Bowers is a key figure in the netroots movement. A 32-year-old graduate student working on a Ph.D. in English at Temple University in Philadelphia, Bowers's main qualification for his new role as political strategist appears to be a stint at the American

So triangulation—moderation—is dead. But now many Democrats must practice a new kind of triangulation, trying to find a middle ground not between Democrats and Republicans but between the netroots faction and more mainstream Democratic voters. So far, no one has figured out a way to do it.

THE PAPER TIGERS OF THE BLOGOSPHERE?

There's no doubt that Democrats perceive the netroots as the biggest, baddest player in party politics. But why, exactly? Perhaps the most overlooked factor in all the Lieberman-Lamont coverage is the fact that the netroots' contribution to Lamont, while significant, was relatively small. According to PoliticalMoneyLine, the Lamont campaign raised $4,116,131 through July 19 (the most recent date for which figures are available). But $2,501,500 of that came from one contributor: Ned Lamont. Most of the rest, $1,607,371, came in contributions from individuals.

How much of that came from the netroots? First, Lamont raised about $270,000 from donors through MoveOn.org. Then, according to ActBlue.com, the clearinghouse for most blog fundraising, Lamont raised $298,068 from individuals contributing through blogs. (Of that amount, Chris Bowers's MyDD was the biggest single source of money, helping to raise $104,543.) The total was about $568,000.

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So Lamont raised $4.1 million, $2.5 million of which came from himself and $568,000 of which came from bloggers or netroots activists. Now, that $568,000 was significant—about a third of what Lamont received from individuals—but it paled in comparison with what Lamont gave himself. And remember that the Lieberman-Lamont race was the focus of nationwide netroots enthusiasm for months—long before the press began covering the blogs' involvement. According to ActBlue.com, Lamont received more from the blogs than any other candidate in any other race in the country. And still, it would not have amounted to much had the race not involved a candidate wealthy enough to finance his own campaign.

So why are Democrats virtually cowering in fear—and willing to abandon an approach that gave them more success at the presidential level than they had had in decades—in the face of the netroots' attack? There's no entirely convincing explanation, but the short answer seems to be that the netroots can make trouble. If you are a Democratic candidate, and all the anger of the angry Left is directed at you, you will hear about it, day after day after day. Blogs, which have their message relayed by a political press corps that pays attention to blogs, can create buzz. In Connecticut, some out-of-state bloggers who came to support Lamont transformed the race into something of an anti-Lieberman traveling circus. A Republican candidate facing such opposition could deride it as left-wing kookery. But a Democratic candidate, worried that such a comment might cut into his support, can't say the same thing.

So what now? No matter what happens in mid-term elections this November, the netroots seem to be in the driver's seat for the foreseeable future. If Democrats fail to win the House or the Senate, the angry Left will blame accommodationist Democrats and vow to defeat them all the next time around. If Democrats win one or both houses of Congress, the netroots will be triumphant and take their victory as a sign that they should eliminate all remaining accommodationists in 2008. In neither case will the party take a hard look in the mirror, as truly centrist Democrats have urged.

"While the Republicans may be forced to reform themselves after the '06 elections, the Democrats will be emboldened and not inclined to change, so the weaknesses that were evident in the '04 campaign will never be addressed," says Marshall Wittmann. "The paradox of '06 is that the Republicans could be forced to get their act together while the Democratic Left will be completely reinforced by the results."

And what would Democratic politics be like then? A few months ago, at the YearlyKos convention in Las Vegas, Chris Bowers sat in on a panel discussion about the "virtual communities" created by left-wing websites. Might such "communities," a member of the audience asked, serve as models for political organizations in the real world? In other words, could a real organization function like a group of angry bloggers on the Internet, who often shout down anyone who raises doubts about the blogs' take-no-prisoners approach to politics? Bowers seemed a little taken aback at the thought. "I would say no," he said. "That would be a very dark and disturbing place . . . where someone jumps into a room and says something that makes everyone mad, and then a mob starts chasing them . . . I can't imagine a community structured like the blogosphere. That would be really scary."

Just ask the Democrats. **NR**

■ **POLITICS II**

The Long Goodbye

Conservatism's perpetual decline

JONAH GOLDBERG &
RAMESH PONNURU

CONSERVATIVES are famous nostalgics. Apparently we also inspire nostalgia in others: To hear some people tell it, the conservatives of yesteryear were vastly superior to today's. Some of the people lamenting our sad decline are liberals, while some profess to be conservatives themselves. But the storyline is generally the same. The conservatives of old had a prudent concern about overweening government and a fierce attachment to individual liberty. But conservatism has now, according to the critics, degenerated into the worship of power, an authoritarian cult of personality surrounding George W. Bush, and an impulse toward theocracy.

John Dean, President Nixon's counsel, has made a book-length version of this argument. He recently wrote: "For more than 40 years I have considered myself a 'Goldwater conservative,' and am thoroughly familiar with the movement's canon. But I can find nothing conservative about the Bush/Cheney White House, which has created a Nixon 'imperial presidency' on steroids, while acting as if being tutored by the best and brightest of the Cosa Nostra."

He continued:

> Today's Republican policies are antithetical to bedrock conservative fundamentals. There is nothing conservative about preemptive wars or disregarding international law by condoning torture. Abandoning fiscal responsibility is now standard operating procedure. Bible-thumping, finger-pointing, tongue-lashing attacks on homosexuals are not found in Russell Kirk's classic conservative canons, nor in James Burnham's guides to conservative governing. Conservatives in the tradition of former senator Barry Goldwater and President Ronald Reagan believed in "conserving" this planet, not relaxing environmental laws to make life easier for big business. And neither man would have considered employing Christian evangelical criteria in federal programs, ranging from restricting stem cell research to fighting AIDS through abstinence.

Similar broadsides can be found any day of the week at *Time*'s website, where the magazine's "conservative" blogger, Andrew Sullivan, excoriates the Right for its constant failure to conform to his shifting ideals. Francis Fukuyama's new polemic, *America at the Crossroads*, employs the same basic narrative arc, except that it is applied solely to neoconservatives, who have supposedly lost their way. (Which makes him a paleo-neocon?)

Dean is, however, the most perfectly representative critic of contemporary conservatism. His analysis piles clichés on top of errors as though it were an archeological site dedicated to the excavation of ancient ad hominem arguments. He even trots out the old

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standby that today's conservatism, unlike the conservatism of a few minutes ago, is flirting with fascism. Like Adorno and Horkheimer, he finds the fascist roots of conservative ideology deep in the personalities of its adherents.

But please: Russell Kirk a friend of gay rights? One wonders, also, where John Dean, the defender of Reagan, was during the 1980s. Reagan's Environmental Protection Agency repulsed environmentalists more than Bush's has. Reagan tried to restrict research involving human embryos. Bush may be resented in some quarters for standing in the way of same-sex marriage; Reagan was vilified as a willing abettor of genocide against homosexuals. That he was responsible for huge deficits—larger as a percentage of the economy than today's—was, meanwhile, the central policy indictment made against him during the Eighties. Anthony Lewis cited those deficits as the chief black mark on Reagan's legacy.

Both Dean's complaints and their absurdity fit a pattern. Conservatives are always in the dock for betraying their forebears, and they are always found guilty. The fact that those forebears were found guilty of the same offense does not get in the way of the verdict. Whether the critics are themselves liberal or conservative does not much alter the indictment. Liberals—"bookless," as Martin Peretz has recently observed—are especially keen on pointing out perceived (and putatively hypocritical) defections from conservative dogma. Conservatives, meanwhile, take pride in the doctrinaire aspects of their cause—but they often forget that politicians will always disappoint them, and that the reality of life will always be an imperfect shadow of words on a page.

Conservatism has died many deaths, which may explain the recurring phoenix-like rebirth of various "new" Rights and "neo" conservatisms. One of the more famous rumors of conservatism's death was spread during the administration of Richard Nixon. Wage-price controls; the opening to China; deficit spending; Justice Blackmun; new federal bureaucracies: Nixon's apostasies from conservatism easily exceeded the current president's. Brent Bozell wrote that the conservative movement, by backing Nixon in 1968, had "ceased to be an important political force in America." The judgment was sufficiently widely shared by 1971 that the *New York Times* invited William F. Buckley Jr. to explain that conservatives had been realists, not suckers, and that Nixon, while by no means perfect, was the best option available.

Just a few years earlier, Goldwater had been said to have betrayed the Right. Gov. Bill Scranton of Pennsylvania suggested that his followers were "extreme reactionaries" and "anything but conservatives." He was a far cry from Robert Taft: So said Scranton, along with columnists Richard Rovere and Walter Lippmann. The liberal establishment of the era saw Goldwater not as the representative of an honorable political philosophy, but as a manifestation of mass psychosis, the "authoritarian personality" made flesh.

Conservatism has died many deaths, which may explain the recurring phoenix-like rebirth of various 'new' Rights and 'neo' conservatisms.

THE SONG REMAINS THE SAME

Conservatives in the Bush era have supposedly turned their back on the small-government principles of the Gingrich era. The Gingrichites, meanwhile, were assailed for abandoning Reagan's sunny optimism. As for the Reaganites themselves . . .

Well, here's Kevin Phillips writing in 1982: "Today's Sun Belt represents a confluence of Social Darwinism, entrepreneurialism, high technology, nationalism, nostalgia, and fundamentalist religion, and any Sun Belt hegemony over our politics has a unique potential . . . to accommodate a drift toward apple-pie authoritarianism." Phillips added that it would be "a big mistake" to overlook the parallels between Reagan's America and Weimar Germany. (That a once-wholesome conservatism has soured into fascism is a constant motif of liberals.)

The Nation, the left-wing weekly, ran articles in the late 1970s about how cruel the New Right was being to such supposedly stalwart conservatives as Edward Brooke, Howard Baker, and John Anderson (who ended up running against Reagan as an independent in 1980). Across the Atlantic Ocean, Margaret Thatcher had her conservative credentials rejected, too. Tory "wets" thought she was too pro-capitalist to deserve the label.

CBS correspondent Daniel Schorr told Americans that Goldwater was associated with German neo-Nazis. The *New York Times* ran an ad reporting that 1,189 psychiatrists found Goldwater not "psychologically fit." LBJ shamelessly bludgeoned Goldwater as a champion of "hate." The intellectuals joined the fray. An essay in *Partisan Review* declared Goldwater's campaign "a recrudescence on American soil of precisely those super-nationalistic and right-wing trends that were finally defeated in Europe at the cost of a great war, untold misery, and many millions dead." Martin Luther King Jr. was more plainspoken: "We see dangerous signs of Hitlerism in the Goldwater campaign."

Even Goldwater, however, was a latecomer to the enterprise of corrupting conservatism. Many observers, including most self-described "movement conservatives," have treated Buckley's founding of this magazine as the origin of the modern Right. But NR, too, was judged to have fallen short of true conservatism. John Fischer, the editor of *Harper's*, said that he was disappointed to see that it was "an organ, not of conservatism, but of radicalism."

SEEKING A 'USABLE CONSERVATIVE'

Which is not to say that there were no good conservatives. There was Clinton Rossiter, about whom Willmoore Kendall said that "he could make you feel ashamed of yourself if you were not both conservative and Liberal." There was also Peter Viereck. Viereck was such a perfect conservative that he denounced Robert Taft as a Robespierre. He preferred Adlai Stevenson to Eisenhower, believing that conservatives should conserve the welfare state. Shortly before Viereck's death earlier this year, *The New Yorker*

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hauled him out to condemn all conservatives who came after him. Viereck said that he had "opened people's minds to the idea that to be conservative is not to be satanic." But "once their minds were opened," he added sadly, "Buckley came in."

Tom Reiss's worshipful *New Yorker* article portrayed Viereck as a sage in exile, a literary device useful for giving his jeremiad against contemporary conservatism the ring of authenticity. Viereck "anticipated the radicalism of the George W. Bush Presidency," seeing conservatism as a movement "infiltrated by religious fundamentalists, paranoid patriotic groups, and big business leaders, united in their loathing for the cosmopolitan elites on the nation's coasts." With Reiss's article, the conservatives-betraying-their-forefathers genre came full circle. Elsewhere we could learn that Bush had betrayed Gingrich, who betrayed Reagan, who betrayed Goldwater. Now it turned out that Bush's "radicalism" was just a working out of Buckley's initial betrayal. What a long, strange trap it's been.

The history of conservatism's alleged decline is, in other words, roughly coterminous with the history of modern conservatism. To trace back the genealogy of this criticism is to discover that conservatism never existed in its pure, natural state.

A few common themes pop up again and again at every stage of conservatism's supposed degeneration. First, *liberal amnesia.* Liberals reinvent yesterday's conservatives in order to exalt them. Would liberals really want to trade the racial attitudes of today's conservatives for those of yesterday's? Would they prefer the Smith Act to the Patriot Act? The House Un-American Activities Committee to John Ashcroft? In recent decades, liberals have been particularly prone to cast yesterday's conservatives—especially Reagan and Goldwater—as more socially liberal than they were. (A few years ago, we learned in *The New Yorker* that Friedrich von Hayek, too, was really a social democrat.)

Second, *liberal presumption.* Liberals have always been far more likely to lecture conservatives about what conservatism truly means than conservatives are to return the favor. This tendency is so deep-seated as to invite the speculation that liberalism has a tropism toward intellectual imperialism: It constantly wants to create a kind of house conservatism in its own image.

Third, *a double bind.* Anti-statist conservatism is always condemned as radical, while a conservatism that is insufficiently anti-statist is condemned as proto-fascist. If conservatives were ever simply to declare the status quo ideal, one imagines that liberals would start reading us that bit from Burke about how a state without the means of change is without the means of its conservation.

Fourth, *an opportunistic use of disaffected conservatives.* Conservatives have usually been eager to debate first principles and their application. But in every generation, some conservatives will lose the intramural debates, and it will be only natural for them to feel that they have lost them unfairly. They will maintain that they alone have stayed true to the faith. Liberals will, in turn, be delighted to tout these scolds as exemplars of a good conservatism—so long, that is, as the scolds are out of power.

None of this means that conservatism never changes in response to changing circumstances, or that those changes are always for the better. But the next time you read a magazine article about the corruption and degeneracy of conservatism, you can take comfort in knowing that our decline has been going on for a long time. We are, indeed, upholding a tradition. **NR**

■ **ESSAY**

Reaganomics: How's It Going?

Two wins, a draw, and two losses

CHRISTOPHER DEMUTH

WHEN Ronald Reagan came to Washington, he brought with him a conservative school of economics. This school emphasized, much more thoroughly and systematically than those associated with previous presidents of either party, the advantages of private markets, the disadvantages of government spending and regulation, and the role of private economic incentives in advancing or undermining government policies. As we pass the 25th anniversary of the August 1981 tax cuts, it is appropriate to assess Reagan's economic record. My scorecard shows two wins, one draw, and two losses.

The first win was monetary policy. In the late 1970s, liberal economists such as James Tobin and Robert Solow argued that monetary policy should aim primarily to achieve low unemployment; this, they said, would inevitably generate some inflation, but we would have to live with it as the price of strong employment. Conservative economists like Milton Friedman and Allan Meltzer argued that monetary policy should aim for price stability; this, they said, would provide the framework for efficient investment and productivity growth, thereby raising employment.

The Friedmanites won a brilliant victory. Since the inflation-breaking year of 1982, the Federal Reserve Board has pursued a consistent low-inflation policy, and inflation has averaged less than 2.6 percent—as compared with 7.6 percent for the decade before 1982. Over the same periods, unemployment fell from an average of 7 percent to less than 6 percent, and continues to fall. No one is arguing today that inflation is something we should tolerate in order to achieve low unemployment or other economic goals.

The triumph of low-inflation monetary policy resulted from a convergence of liberal and conservative understanding that began before 1981. The crisis of the old monetary order began with the stagflation of the 1970s, presided over by Federal Reserve chairman Arthur Burns, a conservative Republican. Burns was a stable-money man but he accepted the notion of a tradeoff between inflation and employment and believed that unemployment as high as 7 percent was politically unacceptable. He tried to hold money growth in check but eased up whenever unemployment began to rise, a lurching that produced a disastrous inflationary spiral. And it was a liberal Democrat, Fed chairman Paul Volcker, who turned the corner: His relentless crusade to defeat inflation produced unemployment rates far

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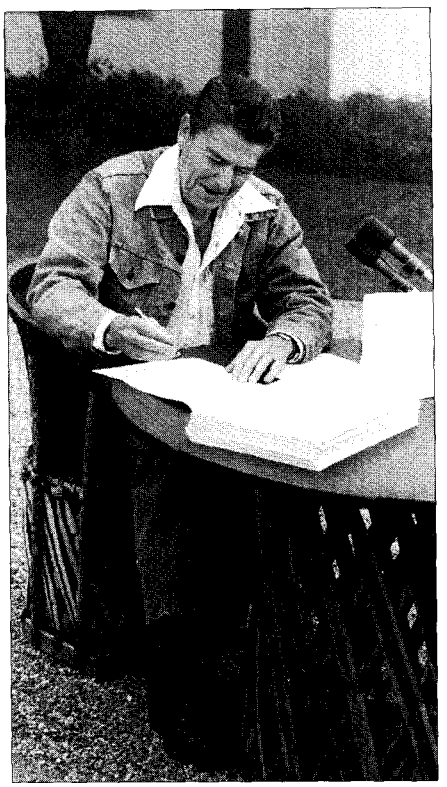
higher than those Burns had thought acceptable, and they persisted for years before stable low inflation became the norm and unemployment began to fall.

Ronald Reagan deserves great credit for standing unflinchingly by Volcker in this politically perilous passage. But so does Jimmy Carter, who appointed Volcker knowing his intentions and almost never criticized him thereafter, even when Carter's advisers warned that the messy early phase of the Volcker crusade could cost him the 1980 election.

GOODBYE, CIVIL AERONAUTICS BOARD

The second big win was regulatory and antitrust policy. Deregulation, like stable money, began as a staple of conservative economic thought, and was a tenet of Reaganism. Reagan's first, flamboyant act as president was to abolish federal price controls on oil and gasoline—a step that the media and many Democrats said would lead to soaring prices but instead lowered them, exactly as Reagan had predicted. He also presided over the decontrol of natural-gas prices and the abolition of the Civil Aeronautics Board, signed legislation putting the Interstate Commerce Commission on track to extinction, and never missed an opportunity to highlight and ridicule the perverse effects of government rules. His policy toward environmental and safety regulation was to require that rules pass a cost-benefit test showing that their social value outweighed their economic price.



Signing the 1981 tax cut

Both economic deregulation and economics-based reform of social regulation proved to be durable contributions. Washington had no appetite for old-fashioned price and entry controls in the post-Reagan years, and remained largely passive in the face of industrial restructurings that would have prompted a binge of protectionist regulation in earlier eras. Reagan's successors all continued to require that the Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, and the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration submit their rule-making proposals for cost-benefit review. Deregulation of telecommunications has proceeded fitfully, pharmaceutical price controls continue to threaten, and new forms of regulation such as the Sarbanes-Oxley Act have sprung up—but these battles do not diminish the dramatic progress that has been made.

As in the case of monetary policy, one is struck by the emergence of an intellectual consensus—beginning before the Reagan years and including both politicians and economists—around what had once been conservative positions. A thoroughgoing critique of government regulation emerged in the early 1970s. Gerald Ford was a forceful deregulation advocate during his brief term, but Jimmy Carter was equally forceful and more successful. Carter appointed Alfred Kahn, an economics professor and outspoken deregulator, to chair (and disable) the Civil Aeronautics Board, and signed the Airline Deregulation Act of 1978—itself the handiwork of Ted Kennedy and his then-aide Stephen Breyer. Today, when politicians succumb to populist pressures (as in attempts to reimpose price controls on gasoline), they are sternly rebuked by economic advisers in their own parties.

Most impressive of all was the revolution in antitrust policy. In the early 1970s, University of Chicago economist Aaron Director and legal scholars Robert Bork and Richard Posner mounted a root-and-branch critique of then-prevailing antitrust doctrines that tightly restricted mergers, price competition, and product distribution. Antitrust, they said, should be guided by the criterion of consumer welfare, not that of balancing the interests of rival producers. At first these views were seen as radical, even a bit crackpot, but they gained ground steadily in the 1970s. With Reagan's inauguration they became official policy at the Justice Department's antitrust division and the Federal Trade Commission.

The economic benefits of antitrust reform have probably been as great as those of price stability: Much of the industrial restructuring of the past 20 years, and many of the pricing and product-distribution practices that have emerged in the new information economy, would have been illegal before the 1980s. As in regulatory policy, there is much for conservative economists still to quarrel with in contemporary antitrust. But today's arguments, grounded on all sides in considerations of market competition and consumer welfare, are worlds away from the pre-1980s mishmash of populism and armchair industrial planning.

GIVING AND TAKING

Tax policy has absorbed more conservative political energy than any other economic issue in the past 25 years, but has produced only a draw with liberals. The achievements have been substantial. Reagan won steep reductions in marginal income-tax rates that proved durable through several subsequent tax revisions authored by both Democrats and Republicans. The reductions have affected not only the highest earners, whose top statutory rate was 70 percent in 1980 and is 35 percent today, but taxpayers across the income spectrum (for example, couples with income between $45,000 and $55,000 in 2005 dollars paid a top rate of 28 percent in 1980 but pay only 15 percent today). The arguments of liberal critics that sharp tax reductions would generate a wave of price inflation proved unfounded and have disappeared from the policy debate. And Reagan, in league with Dan Rostenkowski and other House Democrats, forged the Tax Reform Act of 1986, which made the tax code simpler and more efficient by broadening the tax base in exchange for reduced rates and the elimination of loopholes.

But these gains have been offset by several adverse developments. Tax policy, in contrast to monetary, regulatory, and antitrust policy, has remained highly partisan. Successive rounds of legislation, reflecting shifting balances of power between Republicans and Democrats, have left the tax code with many anomalies that

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tend to entrench both sides and make reform more difficult. The introduction or expansion of tax deductions and credits for child care, education, retirement saving, and many other things, combined with the Clinton-era innovation of phasing out deductions and credits as income increases, has produced a pattern of effective marginal tax rates that economist Kevin Hassett has dubbed the "skyline tax." Consider a representative family of four that takes the available deductions and credits that phase in and out at different income levels. At an income of $25,000, the family faces a marginal tax rate of 21 percent, but at an income of $50,000 the rate falls to 0 percent; at $100,000, the marginal rate has soared to 46 percent, and then at $145,000 it has fallen back to 28 percent. Rates that rise and fall willy-nilly reflect nobody's idea of tax equity or efficiency. They reflect, rather, the terms of ceasefire in the last several tax battles.

Another anomaly has arisen from the one thing conservatives and liberals have been able to agree on since Reagan: that it is desirable to exclude lower-income persons from the tax rolls altogether. This has been achieved by raising tax brackets and expanding targeted credits and deductions, especially the Earned Income Tax Credit. The number of Americans who file a federal income-tax return but owe no tax has risen from about 19 percent when Ronald Reagan left office to about 32 percent today. According to the President's Advisory Panel on Federal Tax Reform, *all* income-tax revenues this year will come from 50 percent of taxpayers (a term that includes households, not just individuals). The upshot is that a very large proportion of the adult American population, probably close to 50 percent, now provides zero direct support for the general operations of the federal government. This cannot be good for our political health, and has certainly complicated the task of tax reform. Every proposal that does not include a tax hike is immediately attacked as a giveaway to the rich. In one sense, the charge is accurate—because only the rich (very broadly defined) now pay any income taxes at all.

DRUNKEN SAILORS AND CHOICE-DENIERS

Now for the two losses. The first is spending restraint. In the 25 years since Ronald Reagan declared his intention to curb the growth of government, domestic spending has more than doubled in real terms. This growth has been especially pronounced during the years of unified Republican government since 2001. And it isn't just earmarks and Jack Abramoff's Indian tribes. Federal education spending has nearly doubled, and a huge, unfunded, middle-class entitlement for prescription drugs has come into being. In power, Republicans have turned out to be just as profligate as Democrats. They have even cooked up a theory called "big-government conservatism" to justify themselves.

There is an unfortunate asymmetry between the conservative and liberal camps on the spending question. The liberals present a united front: Both their economists and their politicians tend to think that when money is taken out of the private economy and spent by the government, the result will be an improvement in social welfare. Conservative economists are highly dubious of that proposition—but they are now at odds with conservative politicians, who for the most part simply ignore them on spending issues.

The second loss has been voucherization and privatization. Even before the Reagan administration, conservatives were arguing that many public programs, such as schooling, Social Security, Medicare, and a long list of social-welfare services, would be much improved if the government relinquished its one-size-fits-all monopolies by providing vouchers for individuals to buy these services from private or government suppliers. The failure of these proposals is something of a puzzle. They would be voluntary—the Bush Social Security plan would permit anyone to stick with the current system, and parents eligible for vouchers could choose to keep their children in public schools. And they are promoted in the name of individual choice, an idea with broad appeal in American culture. I believe there are three reasons they have failed to catch on.

First, the government programs in question have embedded within them a large number of hidden cross-subsidies, including many to the middle class. By far the largest subsidy in public education is to the teachers unions whose members constitute a near monopoly, a status that would be lost in a truly competitive school-choice program. And Democrats worry that making Social Security and Medicare highly progressive would erode political support for the programs among the middle class. Many liberal policy experts favor voucher proposals; but their politician friends listen to them about as much as conservative politicians listen to conservative economists who advocate spending control.

Second, many of the school-voucher programs that have been tried around the country provide only weak forms of choice; when parents move their children out of a school, the school suffers no financial loss and its average revenue per pupil may even rise. The result is to undermine school choice's ability to affect public-school performance. When parents are able to deny resources to one school and give them to another, public schools will instantly begin to improve.

Third, many people are uneasy about applying the idea of personal choice to schooling, retirement policy, and welfare programs, which they regard as part of the essential fabric of government. Until the libertarian revolution arrives, conservatives should emphasize the social rather than the private advantages of vouchers—the tremendous improvements they would bring to school performance, pension programs, health care, and other services, as distinct from personal-choice benefits to individuals considered apart from the society they belong to.

Standing at the intersection of our two greatest policy failures, spending control and voucherization, are the two mammoth health-care programs, Medicare and Medicaid, growing like Topsy. Health care is unique in featuring a sharp ideological divide between conservative economists and politicians on one hand and liberal economists and politicians on the other. Both breeds of conservative favor reforms to greatly reduce government regulation and financing of medical care, leaving the sector to be governed largely by competitive private markets with a social safety net. Liberal politicians and liberal economists who devote themselves to health-care policy for the most part favor outright socialism. Each camp fashions its every incremental proposal with a view toward its larger goal. Whether conservative economics is as successful in the next 25 years as it has been in the last 25 will depend largely on how this battle—so far unmediated by the emergence of any professional consensus—plays out. **NR**

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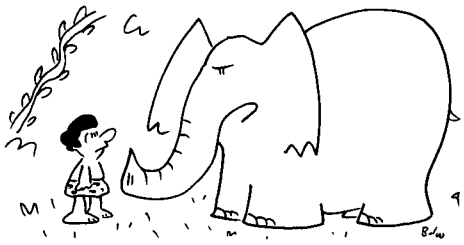
HELP !!!!

Let's Review

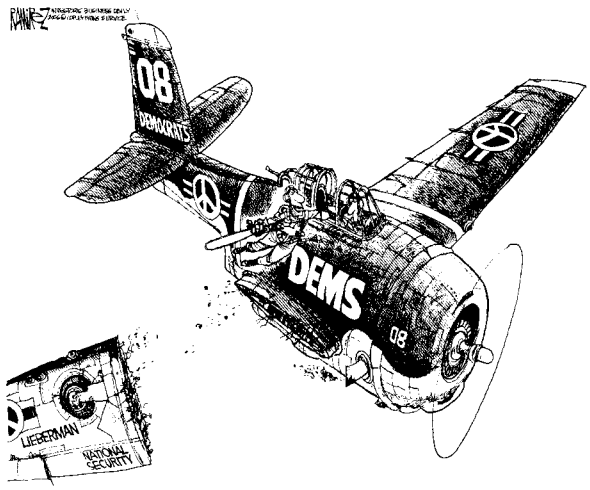
Russia sent the anti-tank guns;
China mailed the drones.
From Iran came rockets, gratis,
Plus lotsa cellphones.
Hezbollah cleans up like crazy.
France reports cold feet.
Kofi's scolding from New York like
Ma in the back seat.

—W. H. von Dreele



"King of the Jungle, eh?—I don't remember voting for you."

"I dunno. . . . Some nonsense about how George Bush is responsible for all the wars in the world."



"WE REALLY ONLY NEED THE EXTREME LEFT WING."

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the long view

ROB LONG

The New British Library Revised Muslim Sensitivity Series, 2006

Excerpt from *Maurice Crushed under Large Boulders* (formerly *Maurice*, by E. M. Forster):

"Cripes! What are you doing?"

The gamekeeper turned to Maurice fiercely, eyes blazing with anger.

"I was just . . . just . . ." Maurice stammered out, shamefacedly. "Just being . . . just . . ."

The gamekeeper stared roughly. "You were just putting your hands where they don't belong is what you were doing, gov'nor. Just trying some bent business is what you were doing."

"Don't tell anyone," Maurice pleaded. "Don't. It's just . . ."

"Sorry, gov'nor, but the Committee on Vice and Morality will have to know. It'll mean being crushed under large boulders for you. Sharia law and all that."

"Of course," said Maurice sadly.

The gamekeeper trotted off to the village as Maurice began shaving his body hair in preparation for justice.

Excerpt from *Jeeves and the Ramadan Whore* (formerly *Stiff Upper Lip, Jeeves*, by P. G. Wodehouse):

No one has ever doubted that we Woosters, when we get our feathers up, are a fearsome lot. Just this Tuesday, as I was sauntering out to the club, jolly old Koran in tow, I had a run-in with old Jeeves regarding my rather smart new skull cap.

"Sir," he murmured, "is it your intention to parade about the town in a skull cap of that precise design?"

I knew at once what Jeeves was up to. He's rather a stick about certain things—skull caps among them. And yet my new skull cap was the absolute aces. Splendid black weave, tiny little nubbins of red cloth hidden here and there—it had practically leapt out at me from the shop window as I was clipping along to Gussie Fink-Nottle's sister's stoning. As it was I barely had time to summon the shopkeeper, procure said beanie, and arrive at the stoning in time to see Gussie's poor old whore of a sister take one right in the old noodle.

"Jeeves, you're making me rather cross," I growled crossly. "You know perfectly well this is a perfectly reasonable skull cap to wear. I daresay the chaps at the madrassah will positively swoon with jealousy."

"Perhaps, sir," he murmured again. "Although I trust you won't mind if I take the opportunity to observe that the encouragement of jealousy in others is, again, if you don't mind my saying, a grievous affront to Allah. Perhaps the simple grey cap, sir?"

"Simple grey simply won't do," I held. "Simple grey, perhaps, for a simple Friday, Jeeves. But today we chaps are planning something big. As you can see, I've got my holiday kurta on . . ."

"I did notice the kurta, sir," said Jeeves painfully. "The cut is perhaps too contemporary?"

"Dash it all, Jeeves!" I cried. "We're planning a big operation here on Mother Soil, and if that doesn't give a cove leave to dress a bit upstairs, then I'll be hanged if I know what does."

It doesn't do well to let a valet start ordering one around. One loses all sense of one's prerogatives. Jeeves was a trusty sort, of course. His family had been slaves to us Woosters since Hector was a pup. When his wife was observed being overly chummy with the halal butcher down the road, it was I who spotted Jeeves the dosh for the kerosene he used to set her alight. So bound together in friendship I suppose we are. Still, I wasn't about to allow something like helping a fellow out with a wife-burning interfere with my right to give the lads an eyeful of what people in the know call "style."

"I'm off to the madrassah, Jeeves."

"Very good, sir."

Excerpt from *The Blissful Martyr Reaches Paradise* (formerly *Dr. No*, by Ian Fleming):

Bond slowly rose to his full length. His salaams this morning had taken on a special meaning. He brushed some of the dust from the crease of his robe and made a mental note to call Anderson & Sheppard that afternoon and cancel his recent order for several new robes. Where he was going, he doubted that he'd need such finery . . .

"Afternoon, Moneypenny," he called out to the black-clad figure toiling at the desk. "M wanted to see me?"

The figure nodded. Bond had often wondered what the woman beneath the burka looked like. His wondering had, in fact, once occupied him so much that he had had no choice but to order that she be beaten for being a salacious temptress. "Good old Moneypenny," he thought to himself. "One of these days, I may have to marry her."

"What are you grinning at, 007?" M asked. He stood in the doorway, his afternoon caftan billowing around him. "Come inside."

He motioned Bond into the office. "Bring us some tea and dates, Moneypenny," he barked.

"Tell me, 007," he asked. "What do you know about the Jews?"

Excerpt from *Unlucky Jim* (formerly *Lucky Jim*, by Kingsley Amis):

Jim's head hit the floor with a thud and rolled under the tea table.

"That'll teach you to think twice before making clever atheistic remarks," said the dean to nobody in particular.

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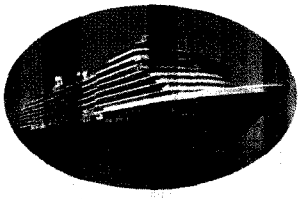

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SAT/Nov. 11	San Diego, CA		5:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
SUN/Nov. 12	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars evening religious services
MON/Nov. 13	Cabo San Lucas (Mexico)	8:00 AM	6:00 PM	late-night smoker
TUES/Nov. 14	Mazatlan	8:00 AM	6:00 PM	afternoon seminar
WED/Nov. 15	Puerto Vallarta	8:00 AM	11:00 PM	evening cocktail reception
THURS/Nov. 16	AT SEA			morning/afternoon seminars late-night smoker
FRI/Nov. 17	AT SEA			morning seminar evening cocktail reception
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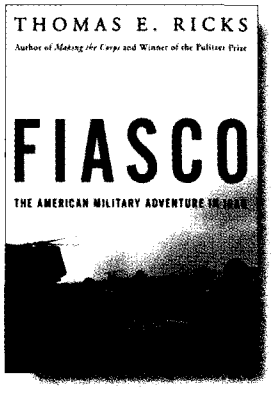
Iraq: Phase One



Fiasco: The American Military Adventure in Iraq, by Thomas E. Ricks (Penguin, 416 pp., $27.95)

BING WEST

Tom Ricks, who has a keen eye and a depth of contacts in the military, believes the likely outcome in Iraq will be a net loss for America. "There is a small chance the Bush administration's inflexible optimism will be rewarded," he writes, and "a greater chance that Iraq [will offer] a new haven for terrorists."

Ricks builds a devastating case, with a focus exclusively on the military aspects of Iraq. He portrays systemic failures of political-military leadership, of a kind not seen since World War I. The scale is vastly different, of course, but there are undeniable similarities—both in the initial unwillingness to adapt and in the unswerving loyalty accorded to self-assured incompetents. At the end of 2004, President Bush presented the Medal of Freedom to Gen. Tommy Franks and Amb. L. Paul Bremer. Ricks does not mince words about his opinion of those three men: "The U.S.-led invasion was launched recklessly (Bush), with a flawed plan for war (Franks) and a worse approach to occupation (Bremer)."

Ricks's premise is that invading Iraq turned into a military mess that could have been avoided. The first portion of the book addresses the run-up to the war, the swift seizure of Baghdad, and the chaotic aftermath in May 2003. Numerous books and articles have examined this period, and Ricks presents findings similar to theirs: President Bush had Saddam in his sights since 9/11; deputy secretary of defense Paul Wolfowitz pushed an idealistic dream of transforming the Middle East by establishing an enlightened democracy in Iraq; the influential Iraqi expatriate Ahmed Chalabi was untrustworthy; secretary of state Colin Powell opposed invading but was outmaneuvered; etc. This familiar catalogue is enlivened by a portrayal of Franks, then head of Central Command, as abusive and impatient, "a cunning man, but not a deep thinker," who "ran an extremely unhappy headquarters." Franks, according to the author, had no plan for the occupation, and no intention of remaining the commander responsible for implementing it.

In the middle section of the book, Ricks explains in detail how the U.S. military, once confronted with an insurgency, responded in 2003 and 2004 with sweeps, raids, and arrests that only inflamed the opposition. He lays the blame on three factors. The first was the appointment of Paul Bremer as the president's proconsul. Bremer wielded his wide-ranging powers decisively but not judiciously. His key error was to disband the Iraqi army, a mistake the American military did not appeal to secretary of defense Donald Rumsfeld to overturn. The second mistake was the appointment by Central Command of Lt. Gen. Ricardo Sanchez as commander of all U.S. ground forces in Iraq. Sanchez was out of his depth, at loggerheads with Bremer, and incapable of developing a comprehensive campaign plan. This led to the third error: unilateral American offensive operations.

U.S. land forces had fought two successful campaigns in Iraq (in 1991 and April 2003) based on swift, aggressive mounted maneuver. As the insurgency gained steam in late 2003, most of the American divisions in Iraq responded with armored sweeps and cordons. Senior commanders were demanding more "actionable intelligence"—which generated an attitude of "us versus them," resulting in tens of thousands of peremptory searches and thousands of questionable arrests, leading in turn to an overflow at the prisons, to subsequent poor standards, and finally to the disaster at Abu Ghraib.

Ricks indicts what can best be termed the "General Officers' Protective Society." He describes how division commanders inculcated a command climate of aggressive tactics inappropriate to winning the support of the resentful Sunni population. Yet the careers of the generals flourished; all blame was directed at Rumsfeld. Gen. Tony Zinni is quoted time and again, damning the civilians for geopolitical naïveté, but Ricks does not let the generals escape criticism: He points out that it was not Rumsfeld but rather the Joint Chiefs and Central Command who dismissed Zinni's operational plans as half-baked.

While Ricks lays into some generals with a verbal broadsword, he compliments some—in particular, Gen. George W. Casey and Lt. Gens. David Petraeus and James Mattis. The last third of the book deals with the faltering steps to implement the counterinsurgency campaign championed by Casey, who took over command in July 2004.

Casey was hampered by two bizarre events. The first was the protective mantle the Shiite leadership cast over the dangerous demagogue Moqtada al-Sadr. Sadr had ordered his Shiite militia to revolt in April 2004; when he was cornered, the U.S. high command, importuned by Shiite leaders, let him go free. In August 2004, Sadr revolted a second time. Casey rushed to Najaf as U.S. troops again cornered Sadr; but again the Shiite leadership negotiated his freedom. Today, Sadr is busy creating the equivalent of Hezbollah in Iraq; fresh battles between the Iraqi army and Sadr's militia are inevitable.

Mr. West, who served in the Marine infantry in Vietnam and later as assistant secretary of defense, is the award-winning author of several military histories, including *The Village: A Combined Action Platoon in Vietnam* and *No True Glory: A Frontline Account of the Battle for Fallujah*. He has been to Iraq nine times, accompanying over 20 battalions on operations.

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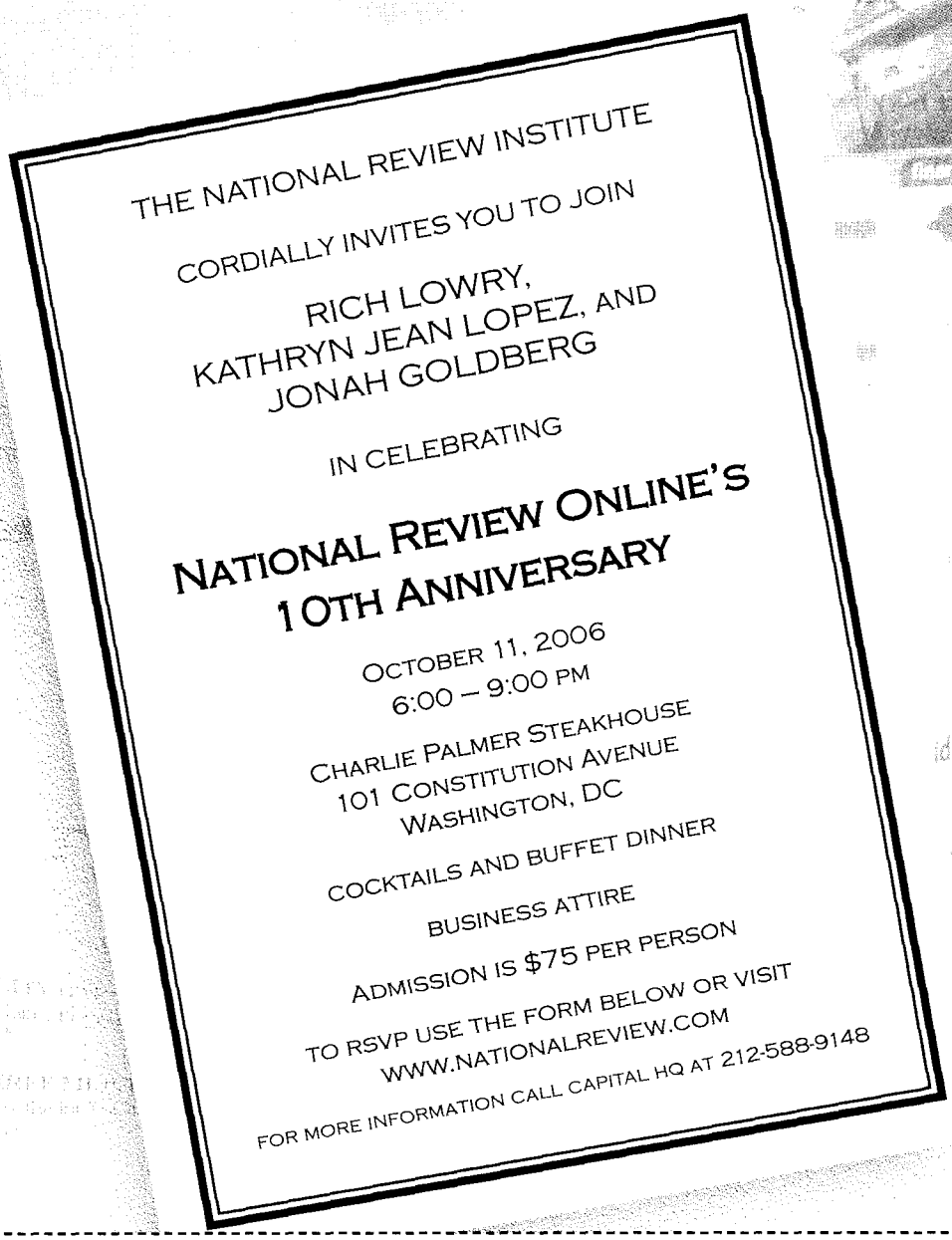

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The second stumbling block was the imprudent interference of senior U.S. officials that extended and confused the battle for Fallujah. Prior to Casey's arrival, the White House and Bremer could not decide on a consistent course of action toward Fallujah, the stronghold of the insurgency and the lair of terrorist Abu Musab al-Zarqawi. The Marines were first ordered to seize the city, then not to seize it, then to invest it while the insurgents grew stronger. After the August battle against Sadr, Casey turned his attention to Fallujah; a November 2004 assault drove out the jihadists and leveled half the city.

It was not until 2005 that Casey could begin a comprehensive campaign to clear and hold a string of Sunni cities. Ricks points out that this counterinsurgency mission has been slow in gathering momentum. The fastest means of developing an indigenous security force is to embed them with American soldiers, along the lines of the KATUSA program in Korea and the Special Forces A teams and Combined Action Platoons in Vietnam. In 1968, one Marine division combined infantry squads with local militia platoons in more than 80 villages. When the CAP was suggested for Iraq, according to Ricks, a general firmly advised against it—because the squads would suffer casualties.

Iraq marked a sea change in the American way of war. "Force protection" meant minimizing casualties—so that over three years, there were fewer fatalities than in that one awful day of 9/11. Mess halls morphed into "dining facilities" offering salad bars, pizza bars, fast-food counters, Middle East cuisine, or good old-fashioned steak and lobster, followed by ice cream, at a cost of about $34 a meal. Soldiers slept in air-conditioned rooms, chatted on the Internet, and played video games. We chose to fight a war that a veteran of Vietnam would not recognize. (Thrown into the cauldron of Fallujah, though, U.S. soldiers and Marines displayed courage and aggressiveness equal to those of any American generation.)

Somewhere between 1966 and 2006, the conditions of war and the acceptability of misery and friendly casualties had changed. We didn't have enough troops in Iraq partly because of how we chose to fight the war; Ricks blames this on shortcomings in military doctrine, but it may be equally attributable to the current mores of American society.

Like a prosecuting attorney, Ricks weaves together a narrative to make his case, with a focus mainly on 2003 and 2004. He does not attempt to provide a comprehensive history. Indeed, his "Cast of Characters" includes fewer than 70 men. He searched for general trends, rather than for what each division did or did not do. His chief pedagogical technique is to limn a crucial event, contrasting what occurred with what someone said about it later, or recalled saying at the time. Since we are all proficient quarterbacks on Monday, this technique tends to produce paeans such as *Band of Brothers* after a successful war, or condemnations such as *Paths of Glory* after a futile war.

Secretary Rumsfeld has said repeatedly that the U.S. military does not do nation-building. He is mistaken. In Iraq, it is the only way to succeed.

Will a new set of authors revise what Ricks has written? I doubt that his view will be seriously challenged. He makes a solid case for each of his indictments.

Ricks introduces the reader to no Iraqis, enemy or friendly, and highlights no interaction between Iraq's politicians and the war effort. Unfortunately, Iraq's political elite has not led; the country's "leaders" have been simply terrible. The fundamental flaw in Iraq, in fact, was not American military missteps but a dearth of Iraqi leadership. The major intelligence failure was the lack of a warning that Iraq had fallen apart as a society. The U.S. military had no doctrine for dealing with the killings between Shiites and Sunnis and the virulence of tribal religiosity. It is hard to win hearts and minds when the Sunni imams are preaching opposition to the infidel crusaders who have brought the accursed Shiites to power, and Shiite militia are hiding behind the Ministry of Interior while killing Sunnis.

Secretary Rumsfeld has said repeatedly that the U.S. military does not do nation-building. He is mistaken. In Iraq, building a nation is exactly what Gen. Casey and his subordinates are trying to do. It is the only way to succeed. The U.S. military has undertaken that staggering task because the rest of the U.S. government did not show up for this war.

If, in the end, Iraq emerges intact and moderate, it will not be because of its political leaders. It will be because the Iraqi army, modeling its behavior to live up to the standards of the American army, is able to defeat both the Sunni insurgents and the Shiite militia. Of course there will be all kinds of political deals; and underlying each of them will be the cold calculus of who will prevail in a fight.

While acknowledging that the U.S. military is beginning to get it right, Ricks concludes by asking whether it is too late to head off a low-level civil war that will result in a fragmentation of Iraq equivalent to that of Lebanon in the mid-1980s (or perhaps today). Ricks's pessimism rests on his doubt that America will sustain its effort. That happened in Vietnam after the February 1968 Tet offensive; although battlefield conditions markedly improved over the next two years, attitudes had hardened against the war and against our South Vietnamese allies.

The danger comes when people make up their minds on political grounds and become impervious to facts. Ricks quotes Casey as saying that the average insurgency lasts for nine years. President Bush has 28 months to put Iraq on a trajectory that will be sustained by either a Republican or a Democratic administration.

Throughout *Fiasco*, Ricks is hard on the U.S. military; but he left me with more hope than he expressed, precisely because he approved of Casey and the other generals now in charge, and because it was, after all, our military that gave him the access, documents, and insights that went into the writing of this book. As both Victor Davis Hanson (*Carnage and Culture*) and Max Boot (*War Made New*) have exhaustively documented, the martial superiority of the West is anchored in self-criticism leading to battlefield adaptation.

With the critique offered in *Fiasco*, Ricks makes a solid contribution to our shared understanding. **NR**

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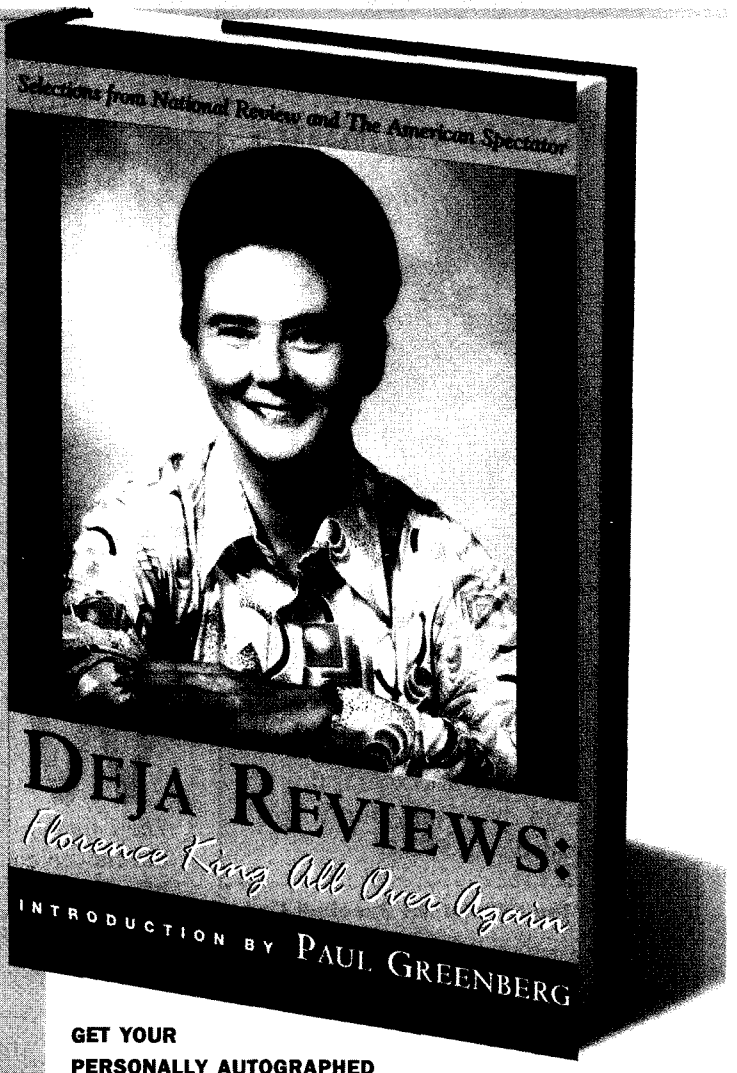
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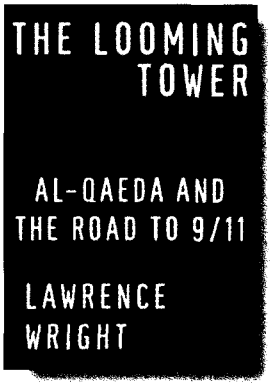
The Long War



The Looming Tower: Al-Qaeda and the Road to 9/11, by Lawrence Wright (Knopf, 480 pp., $27.95)

ANDREW C. McCARTHY

WHATEVER may cause Islamic terrorism, it is certainly not Islam. That is a central message of *The Looming Tower*, an often riveting but flawed contribution to the surfeit of post-9/11 analyses and histories of Osama bin Laden's international terror network.

At its best—which is often, but not often enough—this book by *The New Yorker*'s Lawrence Wright provides a welcome departure from the arid, encyclopedic tendencies of this overcrowded field. Generally, this is a coherent, exhaustively researched history of the essential characters and events that have shaped the new global order. When he lets the facts sing, Wright's work reads like an engrossing novel. But he peppers the account with analytical pauses that are erratic and reflective of dubious conventional wisdom—the world according to Richard Clarke, Michael Scheuer, and the 9/11 Commission. For all its promise, *The Looming Tower* disappoints.

Mr. McCarthy is a senior fellow at the Foundation for the Defense of Democracies.

Wright is especially effective in tracing the long-entrenched roots of both al-Qaeda and the America-centric hatred through which it united what had been dispersed and parochial jihadist movements. The seed is a post–World War II visit to the U.S. by Egyptian intellectual Sayyid Qutb, the patriarch of modern political Islam (which is to say, jihadist terrorism). Qutb's American experience and scathing critiques of the West as morally bankrupt, sex-crazed, materialistic, and anti-Islamic remain central to the jihadist narrative. (Bin Laden, despite hailing from a well-to-do, well-traveled family, has probably never been in the U.S. or Europe.)

Until his "martyr's" death by execution in 1966, Qutb—as successor to Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna—plotted relentlessly against Nasser's regime and its animating idea of secular Arab nationalism. His competing antidote for the ills of the Muslim world was radical Islam, stressing a concept that serves as Wright's leitmotif: *takfir*. Roughly equating to Islamic excommunication, it is the notion that the faithful may legitimately claim for themselves the power to declare their fellow Muslims traitorous apostates. *Takfir* comes to justify, in the radical mind, the murder of anyone who does not accept the "pure" version of Islam that courses through Sunni Wahhabism—the regnant theology of Saudi Arabia, where the royal family has long maintained a tenuous truce with religious authorities. Qutb profoundly influenced two of the book's three central figures: bin Laden and his eventual Qaeda deputy, Ayman al-Zawahiri.

The evolution of the 20-year bond between these two men is Wright's principal and most fascinating focus. Both are scions of families prominent in the modern history of the Middle East. Bin Laden's legendary Yemeni father, Mohammed, is key to understanding the Saudi regime's indulgence of its bête noire, Osama. Through talent and grit, Mohammed rose to become the kingdom's chief builder, linking his clan inextricably to both the Saudi royal family (which he once bailed out financially) and Islam's most revered sites. Zawahiri, a trained physician, was born into a family renowned in medicine, religion, and Egyptian politics. One uncle was a stu-

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dent and confidant of Qutb, while another was the rector of Cairo's al-Azhar University, as close an analogue as there is to papal status in Islam.

Zawahiri, older and more intellectual but decidedly less charismatic than bin Laden, began when he was only 15 to form the cells that would become al-Jihad, the terror organization narrowly dedicated to supplanting Egypt's secular government with a sharia state. Even then, he exhibited a penchant for alienating such natural allies as the Muslim Brotherhood (which he decried for its occasional willingness to work within the political system) and the infamous "Blind Sheikh," Omar Abdel Rahman (whose reckless bloodlust he believed undermined the cause, and whose U.S. followers bombed the World Trade Center in 1993).

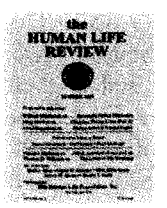
Wright strongly suggests that the drift of both Zawahiri and bin Laden from regional jihadist goals to an epic clash of civilizations was driven by shame. Implicated tangentially in the conspiracy that resulted in Sadat's 1981 murder, Zawahiri is beset by the infamy of having turned state's evidence after being tortured in Egypt's notorious prisons. (With a transparent nod to the mainstream canard that terrorists are created not by doctrine but by such state abuse, Wright confusingly intimates that the torture radicalized Zawahiri—even though he elsewhere recounts that Zawahiri was a "committed revolutionary" for many years before his incarceration, and later concludes that "torture did not so much change Zawahiri as purify his resolve.")

Bin Laden, always pious and seamlessly radicalized in his early teens through exposure to the Muslim Brotherhood, emerged as a jihadist financier in the mid-1980s when the Afghan mujahiddin's jihad against the Soviets attracted thousands of Arab would-be warriors. His actual appearance on the battlefield, however, was delayed for five years, supposedly because he bowed to disapproval from his mother—a hint of cowardice the image-conscious bin Laden has airbrushed by lying about his past, claiming to have gone immediately to Afghanistan when the Soviets invaded in 1979, when in fact he was finally cajoled to the front around 1984.

It was Afghanistan that brought bin Laden and Zawahiri together. Bin Laden rapidly rose to prominence, thanks to the personal fortune he willingly staked and also to his Saudi government contacts—particularly Turki al-Faisal, the then–intelligence chief (and a college friend of Bill Clinton at Georgetown), who coordinated Saudi support for the mujahiddin to the tune of up to half a billion dollars a year. Originally drawn into the jihad under the tutelage of Sheikh Abdullah Azzam (another jihadist powerhouse with whom Zawahiri could not get along), bin Laden soon eclipsed his mentor in influence. The "Services Bureau" (*Makhtab-al-Khadamat*) he co-founded with Azzam in 1984 was the foundation for al-Qaeda.

The relationship between bin Laden and Zawahiri is complex—confounding even Wright, who swerves between flatly declaring, "They were not friends but allies," and deducing that they do have a "friendship" that is "complicated by the fact that one [bin Laden] placed his life in the hands of the other." It is, in any event, a marriage of convenience. Bin Laden is a big-picture dreamer—dedicated and able, but wanting in day-to-day management skills. Zawahiri has the management skills, but they were not matched by money and contacts, which bin Laden had in abundance.

The bulk of the story deals with the odyssey by which both men gravitated from comparatively modest designs to an all-out war seeking to destroy the U.S. and herald a worldwide caliphate. In the telling, Wright deftly dismantles myths great and small. Bin Laden is neither the giant nor the Croesus of lore: He's a bit over six feet tall, and his fortune was vastly depleted by al-Qaeda's years in Hassan al-Turabi's Sudan (which bin Laden came to see as more an extortion racket than a safe haven for jihadists). The Arab fighters were, for the most part, an incompetent drain on the Afghan mujahiddin. It was the 1998 East African embassy bombings that put al-Qaeda (by then relocated to Afghanistan and nearly penniless) on the map; before that, for all bin Laden's bravado (including two high-profile declarations of war), the organization was plotting energetically but had accomplished little.



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It is in its own myth creation that Wright's history stumbles. As the prism for explaining the U.S. response to al-Qaeda, Wright chooses to inflate beyond all proportion the FBI's John O'Neill, the book's third principal figure. Between 1995 and 2001, O'Neill was a top Bureau counterterrorism official. A sharp-elbowed infighter who was deeply patriotic and deeply flawed (personally and professionally, as Wright copiously recounts), O'Neill took a private security job at the World Trade Center in late summer 2001, when his government career was fading. On 9/11, he was killed, heroically trying to save lives. In a book about "al-Qaeda and the road to 9/11," O'Neill should be an interesting bit player. He was far from a central character, and he was very far from being unique among government officials in the belief that al-Qaeda would attack the U.S. massively.

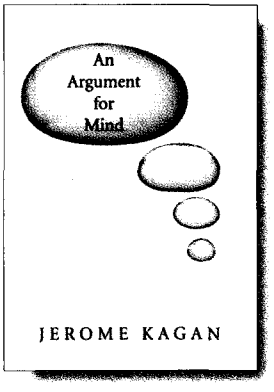
Wright's recounting of American security efforts is unsatisfying in other ways, too. While he makes much of the fact that the CIA, NSA, and State Department frustrated the FBI here and there, he fails to note that President Clinton (who was being investigated by the FBI) could easily have interceded to end these disputes—but chose not to. Wright has also bought wholesale the view of Clinton counterterrorism coordinator Richard Clarke that, pre-9/11, al-Qaeda was less of a priority for the Bush administration than it had been for its predecessor—something Wright reports, without a hint of irony, immediately after noting that the Clinton administration failed to respond at all to the October 2000 attack on the USS *Cole*. And the author reaffirms—confusingly—the 9/11 Commission's duplicitous account of the bureaucratic "wall" that prevented the sharing of information between criminal and national-security investigators (he describes it as a regulation the Bureau misinterpreted, rather than what it was: a Clinton Justice Department directive that prioritized hypothetical privacy concerns over public safety).

These are relatively small points. When it comes to Islamist doctrine, however, Wright does not merely bowdlerize its centrality to al-Qaeda's savage campaign; he affirmatively contorts it. On display here is the all-purpose, politically correct *Weltanschauung*: The religion of peace has been wantonly hijacked by terrorists. When Wright returns repeatedly to *takfir*, he discusses it as a "heresy" within Islam—though, as Bernard Lewis has explained, heresy is itself a concept foreign to Islam. But if *takfir* is intramurally controversial, that is only because it provides a justification for killing *Muslims*. This glides past the elephant in the room: Islam regards non-Muslims as lesser beings. (Even Wright concedes, in passing and without analysis, that, for example, non-Muslims are deemed unfit to enter Mecca and Medina.) Justifying their killing requires no similar casuistry. To circumvent the inconvenience of injunctions in the Koran and other Islamic teachings that clearly support killing of infidels and apostates during jihad, Wright simply ignores them—reporting instead the more benign scriptures (which actually came earlier in time, and were thus superseded by the more bellicose suras of Mohammed's Medina period). Again without irony, the author goes so far as to claim that prior to World War II "there was little precedent in Islam for . . . anti-Semitism," right before recalling "the time when the Prophet Mohammed had subjugated the Jews of Medina." Wright also resorts to psychobabble: Top 9/11 hijacker Mohamed Atta's "turn to terror," we are told, probably "had as much to do with his own conflicted sexuality as it did with the clash of civilizations." This makes explicit the suggestion Wright made implicitly regarding Qutb: These guys are levying war not because they believe, with some justification, that their religion commands it; they simply can't relate to women.

These guys are levying war because they believe, with some justification, that their religion commands it.

The Looming Tower is a good read for those seeking historical details about al-Qaeda and its prime movers. For explanations, better to look elsewhere. **NR**

Mind over Matter



An Argument for Mind, by Jerome Kagan (Yale, 304 pp., $27.50)

EDWARD FESER

ARISTOTLE famously held that to understand something requires knowing its "four causes": its *material cause*, the stuff out of which it is made; its *formal cause*, the specific form or essence that stuff exhibits, and which makes it the kind of thing it is; its *efficient cause*, that which brought it into existence; and its *final cause*, the end, purpose, or function it serves. This Aristotelian picture of scientific understanding prevailed until the end of the Middle Ages; indeed, its demise partially *constituted* the end of the Middle Ages. Modern thought, and especially modern science, are largely defined by their rejection of two of Aristotle's four causes. For modern science, there are no such things as timeless forms or essences, and there are no ends or purposes in nature. There are just brute material elements related by purposeless, meaningless, mechanical chains of cause and effect. In terms of these austere ingredients alone modern science has sought to account for all the diverse and complex phenomena of the natural and human worlds.

Harvard psychologist Jerome Kagan's new book does not directly address this

Mr. Feser is the author of *The Philosophy of Mind: A Short Introduction* and editor of the forthcoming *Cambridge Companion to Hayek*.

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history, but the significance of his argument cannot fully be appreciated without it. *An Argument for Mind* is a memoir of Kagan's intellectual life and a survey of academic psychology as it has existed over the last half-century or so, a period in which researchers have tried earnestly to fit the human mind into the broadly materialistic and mechanistic worldview of modern science. Kagan concludes that the reductionistic aspirations of modern psychologists have not been fulfilled, and are not likely to be fulfilled. In particular, the current vogue for neuroscience has oversold the prospects for a complete explanation of our mental lives in terms of neurological processes. For Kagan, even "a complete understanding of brain is not synonymous with a full understanding of mind," and probably never will be.

In the early 1950s, when Kagan began his career, behaviorism and Freudianism were the dominant psychological paradigms. The former sought to explain all of human behavior in terms of stimulus-response pairings, and tended toward the view that "any event could be a conditioned stimulus for any reaction," so that human nature could in principle be remade according to any favored utopian scheme as long as the appropriate environmental conditions were established. Freud's hydraulic model of the mind, in which neuroses were seen as byproducts of unseen psychic pressures (usually sexual), held out the hope that psychological disorders could be cured by relieving the pressures in question. Both theories were in line with the modern scientific tendency to assimilate human action and its causes to the mechanical forces governing the rest of nature. They also faced serious theoretical difficulties. Behaviorism vastly underestimated the limits biology places on our ability to engineer desired behaviors; as Noam Chomsky and others showed, it was also incapable of explaining language and other complex human practices. Freudian analysis tended to be extremely speculative and imprecise. Yet, as Kagan recounts, both theories long survived anyway because they fit the preconceptions researchers had of what a genuinely "scientific" account of the human mind should look like. They benefited too from the "scientific" backing they seemed to provide for various social and political agendas.

Contemporary psychologists take biology in general and the brain in particular far more seriously than behaviorists and Freudians did, and Kagan acknowledges that this has had some salutary effects on the field. But he also worries that this new focus, if pursued incautiously, could have some of the same drawbacks as the earlier theories. In his view, the current fad for sociobiology stems in part from "political pressure" to find relief for the psychiatric disorders of the poor and uneducated "in new pills rather than in new social arrangements." And the emphasis on finding neurological bases for various psychological states is too often driven by a methodological bias in favor of what is easily measurable, regardless of whether it plausibly corresponds to the messiness and complexity of our actual mental lives.

As Kagan points out by way of example, an individual's increased heart rate will be interpreted by him as a manifestation of fear, anxiety, or excitement depending on the immediate context and his own personal history; given his particular cultural circumstances, it might even be regarded by him as a sign of moral failure, or of his having displeased a dead ancestor or fallen under the spell of a witch. So it is dubious to suppose that the neural process correlated with such bodily events and sensations can be identified with one particular mental state. It is even less plausible to suggest that neurological similarities between lower animals and human beings imply psychological similarities, given that animals lack the power to interpret their sensations the way we do. Devoid as they are of the linguistic and cultural factors that determine the character of our mental states, there may be very little in the "fear" or "anxiety" felt by a rat that corresponds to what those terms mean when applied to us.

In general, the evidence from brain research shows that different neurological processes can underlie the same mental state and that different mental states can be associated with the same neurological process. Even an action as simple as asking for the salt shaker can take diverse forms—for example, a verbal request, pointing in the direction of the salt shaker, or mimicking the shaking of salt with one's hand—with different neurological processes underlying each. There is simply no tidy correlation between specific sets of brain processes and specific psychological states, even within the same individual. Kagan faults researchers for tending to speak in abstractions that present a misleadingly optimistic picture of what the evidence actually shows. Talk about finding a neurological basis for "fear" or "anxiety" is made to sound plausible only because such nuances are frequently ignored.

The root of the problem, Kagan says, is that "acts, for example, have an intended goal, thoughts have a semantic coherence, and feelings have a quality. Neuronal activity has none of these properties, and it is not possible to replace the psychological terms with the biological ones without losing some meaning." Hence no neurological description, however thorough, can capture the richness of our psychological states. "As a viewer slowly approaches Claude Monet's painting of the Seine at dawn," Kagan notes, "there comes a moment when the scene dissolves into tiny patches of color"; similarly, in many a researcher's analysis of a mental state "the coherent psychological component vanishes into a long description of neuronal firings." But just as it would be folly to suppose that a description of the chemical and other material properties of the dots of paint on a canvas could by itself reveal the meaning of Monet's painting (or even convey the fact that it is a *painting* at all, rather than just a collection of dots), so too is it folly to suppose that a purely neurological account could reveal the mind in its fullness.

An Aristotelian would say that the inadequacy of the reductionistic neurological explanations Kagan criticizes is just what we should expect, for the formal and final causes that modern scientists eschew are nowhere more evident than in human beings. If neurological description will never replace psychological description, this is merely a consequence of the fact that the form of a thing is irreducible to its material components. And the inherent goal-directedness of thought is the clearest instance of the purposiveness that, for Aristotle, pervades the natural world. Kagan does not make use of such philosophical concepts; indeed, he might not be comfortable with all of their implications. But they are the most natural way to express more precisely the philosophical point he is making.

Kagan is somewhat less successful when he delves into other philosophical territory, particularly ethics. To be sure, he makes some astute observations about the hyper-individualism that dominates the

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modern Western world, and that too many Westerners mistake for a universal feature of human psychology. But he implausibly suggests that the motive for acting morally is to attain a feeling of satisfaction. (As Kant could have told him, it is possible to act out of duty even when one takes no pleasure whatsoever in so doing.) Worse, Kagan says that morality rests ultimately on emotion rather than reason, with its content deriving from "the sentiment of the majority in the community." But there are several obvious and well-known objections that Kagan fails to consider. For example, what if the "majority in the community" favors enslaving blacks, or liquidating the kulaks, or exterminating the Jews?

Still, when he sticks to psychology Kagan has many wise and interesting things to say. If it is progress to abandon deep-seated errors and recover ancient truths, then modern psychology—should it heed Kagan's advice—promises to make great progress indeed. **NR**

■ MUSIC ■

The Big One

JAY NORDLINGER

Salzburg, Austria

WELL, this is the big one, Elizabeth (as Fred Sanford used to say). (Note to the very young or unschooled: He was a TV-sitcom character.) For many years, this city has been preparing for 2006, the 250th anniversary of Mozart's birth. And Salzburg, of course, is the little guy's hometown.

The city gained other worldwide fame last century, when Rodgers & Hammerstein penned *The Sound of Music*. (It is set here, as you know.) But Mozart is unquestionably the main deal. His bust greets you at the airport, which is, in fact, called the W. A. Mozart Airport. (I don't think his descendants get royalties.) And Mozart never stops looking at you, wherever you go in the city. You never stop looking at him, either.

At the Salzburg Festival, every year is a Mozart year, just as it is in the musical world at large. But 2006 is a stunner. Virtually every program at the Festival—orchestral, chamber, recital—includes at least some Mozart, and often a lot of Mozart. And the only operas staged are Mozart's—22 in all.

According to Festival officials, never before have all of the composer's operas, or semi-operas, been presented all at once. These works range from juvenilia (*Bastien und Bastienne*, *La finta semplice*) to the last, glorious gasp: *La clemenza di Tito*.

Of course, the Salzburg Festival being the Salzburg Festival, not all of these operas are Mozart's own. That is, avant-garde stage directors toy with them and warp them until they are barely recognizable. But Mozart usually finds a way to out. I have long inveighed against the completeness craze in music, and I was opposed, in the run-up to this summer, to the all-22 concept, which I considered an unnecessary stunt. But I was wrong, I'm happy to say. To have the operas complete is an educational and exciting experience.

There's this to consider, too: One of the founding spirits of the Festival, Richard Strauss, said that Mozart ought to be honored in his hometown. And honored—doubly and triply honored—he is.

Amid the concerts, operas, parties, and scandals, the Salzburg Festival Society is holding a series of seminars or talks, moderated by . . . an interloper from NATIONAL REVIEW. One of our guests is René Pape, the German bass and a huge star on the international scene. It is not entirely common for a bass to be such a star—a soprano, a mezzo, a tenor, and even a baritone, yes, but not the lowest guys. We can think of exceptions to the rule—Chaliapin, Pinza, maybe George London (who in any case was a bass-baritone)—but not many.

Pape grew up in Dresden, and he is now 41. That means he was in his mid-20s when the Wall came down. His mother was a hairdresser, his father a cook. ("So you were always well fed," I say. "Yes," he answers, "and my hair looked good, too.") He was a member of Dresden's boys' choir, called the Kreuzchor. I ask what Pape, as a little soprano, sounded like:

OF SPRING AND THE RIVER

Since father's death, I have not gone
To the river, not that it hasn't been on
My mind, sometimes below the surface
Reflections, with no landscape support
For even the thought of waters on a grand
Scale slipping away, and sometimes so close
The murmur of its motion is sensed
Or felt without having been heard. And at
Other times less close it flows clear and bright,
Reassurance sparkling as sunshine,
When myth and mystery seem propelled by
A deeper illusion, elements of the heart
And soul slipping deliberately toward the
Open water as if there they dwelled. And yet
In our vanity of awareness, we urge
A place for our things, a splash in some direction,
And in doing so stir the alerted sense
That they are also God's things, gifts,
Gifts largely of the river now when it
Flows low and clear and nearly quiet,
Yet also gifts of the air and sky, of
Breeze and clouds, both drifting and driven,
Lightly telling of the places they have been
And where the lives have gone, where the lives have gone,
Carefully along a current seam or driven deep
As the sun, and of the ancient elements,
Constant, by which life yet comes.

—WILLIAM W. RUNYEON

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chirpy and piping, or more like René Pape? "I have always sounded like René Pape," he says sternly, to the audience's laughter.

I further ask what his boyhood hopes and dreams were. And I'm quickly made to realize what a careless question this is. There weren't many hopes and dreams in a Communist state. Pape reminds me, and the rest of us, how grim it was, how deprived and bleak. When he first came to Salzburg, he says, it was "like coming to heaven": the color, the food, the freedom. Amazing that one can forget about Communism, even a short 15 years later.

Pape is famous as a King Mark (*Tristan und Isolde*), as a Sarastro (*The Magic Flute*), and in several other roles. One he will tackle shortly is Hans Sachs, from *Die Meistersinger*. It is a difficult role, he says. Why? Because, for one thing, it requires a lot of waiting around, offstage. "And what will you do during these periods?" I inquire. "Make out your grocery list?" Yeah, he says—"and smoke."

Pape is an enthusiastic and unapologetic smoker, following the tradition of Dietrich Fischer-Dieskau. I ask him who other great smokers among singers are; and he protectively declines to name any of his current colleagues. He settles for, "Fischer-Dieskau and me—we are the greatest."

Throughout our discussion, Pape is terse, somewhat sardonic, and even a bit surly. But something surprising happens when he talks about the role of Boris Godunov, and what an emotional toll it takes. His eyes fill with tears. This seems to confirm what you hear about him: that, despite a tough exterior, he is highly sensitive, a deep-feeler. (And you hear this in his singing as well.)

Toward the end of the hour, I toss this out: Ever thought about a concert or recording with (the soprano) Renée Fleming, to be titled "Renée and René"? Pape's response is opera-star perfect: But, given the different spellings, whose name would come first?

A couple of days later, we have a movie—yes, a movie in Salzburg, and not *The Sound of Music*. This is *The Salzburg Festival: A Brief History*, Tony Palmer's latest. Palmer, a Brit, has made over 100 films, most having to do with the performing arts. And he has been widely honored for them. His new film is chockful of interviews, angles, and that marvelous stuff known as "rare footage": We see Backhaus at the piano, Knappertsbusch on the podium—everything. Any critic would have his objections to this film, but Palmer has accomplished (another) tour de force.

It has not sat well with the Festival brass, however—and I'm not talking trumpeters and tubists. Speaking to an audience at the Kino Theater, Palmer jokes (or at least I take it as joking) that he arrived at Mozart Airport in a false mustache, hiding amid "American tourists." (Why the tourists have to be American, I don't know. There are millions of tourists here, from every corner of the earth—but "American tourists" is meant to be comical, isn't it? Lucky for pathetic European economies that such tourists exist.)

René Pape as Sarastro in The Magic Flute

The complaints of the brass, in brief, are that Palmer dwells too long and harshly on the Nazi period, and that he spots his film with factual errors. As for the first complaint, I maintain that Palmer has bent over backward to be understanding of Salzburg and its principal figures (e.g., Karajan, who joined the Nazi party twice, the first time when it was illegal). As for the second, these are not necessarily clear-cut. Moreover, I believe that, when initial passions have died down, the Festival will count this film as a feather in its (traditional, forest-green) cap.

The morning after the movie, we welcome an old favorite, Thomas Hampson, the glamorous and brainy baritone from Spokane. He has a lot to say, as usual, particularly about music and advancing technology. Hampson is a techie, and in particular a Mac user—he seems as knowledgeable as the geekiest geek. I'm quite sure he would rather read *Wired* magazine (which he does) than *Opera News*. (Don't know whether he reads that.)

In due course, I draw him out on bizarre, self-indulgent, and destructive opera productions—as I see them, I mean. Hampson is typically thoughtful. He neither excuses the relevant stage directors nor condemns them. And he relates a story about Elisabeth Schwarzkopf, the great German soprano who died on August 3. Hampson knew her well, having studied with her. One season, he invited her to Salzburg's *Don Giovanni* (in which he sings the title role). Schwarzkopf left at intermission, telling Hampson later, "How can you lend your talent to such a production? How can you participate in it?"

Obviously, Hampson disagrees with Schwarzkopf, else he wouldn't be singing Don Giovanni here. (The same production is still in place.) As for me, I have always had the highest regard for Schwarzkopf, musically and artistically. (We might discuss her Nazism later.) And she has now climbed even higher in my estimation.

One more guest: He is Clemens Hellsberg, a violinist in the Vienna Philharmonic, and that orchestra's chairman. (The Vienna Phil. has an exceptional form of governance.) At the end of a wide-ranging, fascinating hour, he talks about his love of Mozart, which is supreme. No, he hasn't tired of him, in this year of Mozart mania. He says that, in the afterlife, his first question will be, "Where's Mozart?" He has much he wants to ask him.

I must say that I gritted my teeth for this Mozart year—Mozart at 250—which began in earnest on January 27, the Birthday. I feared oversaturation, even burnout, even disgust. In the past eight months, I have attended, and covered, endless Mozart concerts and festivals. And you know what? I love the little guy more than I ever have. My appreciation of him has actually deepened. I say, believe the hype: Mozart really was—is—that great. **NR**

KLAUS LEFEBVRE

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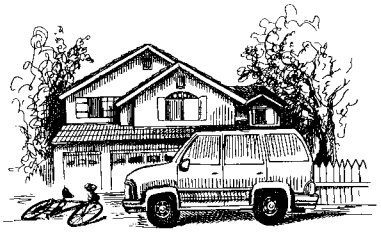
■ THE STRAGGLER ■

Too Darn Hot



JOHN DERBYSHIRE

On the indoor-outdoor thermometer attached to our bedroom window, the "outdoor" column is climbing up through the high 90s at 10 A.M. In the street there is no sign of life. Even the usual landscaping crews have apparently taken the day off. Front lawns bake under the kind of sky novelists call "brassy." The thermometer's "indoor" column registers a pleasant 77 degrees, thanks—heartfelt thanks—to a central-air-conditioning system, our family budget-buster the year before last. My tame, pampered children refuse to step outside except to go to a pool. We don't have one (that may be the year after next's budget-buster), and neither of the two neighboring families that does have a pool is at home. Only the dog shows any enthusiasm for outdoors: He whines for his daily walk.

Dutifully I fetch the leash and we set off. The dog is a long-haired variety and due for a grooming. I wonder how he will bear up in the heat. Our normal walk is a mile and three-quarters. Reminding myself of that continental quip about the "three indifferences" of the English (to food, sex, and the weather), I determine to cover the whole customary distance, defying the heat. As a precaution on the dog's behalf, I take a bottle of water to splash on him if he seems to be in distress.

In the event, the mutt copes better than I do. That mechanism for shedding body heat via a large, wet tongue must be wonderfully efficient. Half a mile out I am squirting the water on my own head, while my shaggy companion occupies himself with sniffing, marking, and evacuating in a manner not perceptibly different from normal. Back home, I discard sweat-soaked clothes and take my second shower of the day. It's still only 11 A.M., and "outdoor" reads 100 degrees. My daughter is busy with her latest enthusiasm, knitting. My son is watching a movie on TV—an early James Bond movie, borderline acceptable. I head for my attic study, the one part of the house not encompassed by the central-air system. It is hot as only an attic can be. I fire up the window a/c and try to settle to some work, sweating again already. E-mail from my son's football league: Tonight's practice has been canceled on account of the heat. I should think so.

I am not a hot-weather person—am, in fact, strongly sympathetic to the folk-anthropological notion that vigorous civilization cannot arise in a seriously hot climate. How did people in hot places get *anything* done before air conditioning came in? Heat is another country: They do things differently there. Or rather, if they have any sense, they do nothing at all.

There is a slight inconsistency in our expectations of human life under conditions of great heat. On one hand, we reflexively associate heat with passion, for reasons not too difficult to fathom. When Peggy Lee's recording of "Fever" was rising in the British pop charts 50 years ago, it was thought indecently suggestive, and there were calls for it to be banned from BBC Radio:

> Now you've listened to my story
> Here's the point that I have made:
> Cats were born to give chicks fever,
> Be it Fahrenheit or Centigrade . . .

Yet at just about the same time, Ella Fitzgerald was recording Cole Porter's "Too Darn Hot":

> According to the Kinsey Report
> Every average man, you know,
> Much prefers his lovey-dovey to court
> When the temperature is low . . .

So is heat conducive to romance, or not? We seem to have more evidence here, if more were needed, that those benighted 1950s—back before we Boomers came along to uncover the full, immutable truth about human life, nature, and society—were an era of pitiful sexual confusion and ignorance. The truth, I think we all know, is that while moderate heat is a romance enhancer, too much is too much.

As with sex, so with violence. The expression "long hot summer" actually migrated from the first zone to the second, beginning as the title of a movie about erotic passion in a sweltering southern town, ending as a code phrase for the mayhem that ensues when too many young men go out into the street to escape stifling-hot apartments. Sociologist Eric Klinenberg, in his book about the great Chicago heat wave of 1995, notes that while crime goes up in summer because the heat drives people outdoors, "when the heat becomes too extreme, crime rates actually decrease because would-be criminals become too lethargic to engage in crime." Ray Bradbury's short story "Touched with Fire" has a character who claims to know the precise turnaround temperature: "More murders are committed at ninety-two degrees Fahrenheit than any other temperature. Over one hundred, it's too hot to move. Under ninety, cool enough to survive. But right at ninety-two degrees lies the apex of irritability, everything is itches and hair and sweat and cooked pork . . ."

Cooked pork is right. My feeble window unit is barely coping with the infernal atticness of the attic.

Then, just as my irritability starts inching its way up into the homicide zone, I happen to read the lead editorial in my morning's *New York Post*: "It could be worse. You could be in Baghdad, where it'll hit 116 degrees today—and where the heat wave lasts all summer. You could be in the Army or the Marine Corps—walking the highways and byways in something a little more substantial than a summer-weight suit . . . Their boots melt into the soft, malleable asphalt highways. Riding in military vehicles without air-conditioning is worse: For security reasons, windows don't roll down . . . Thousands of young Americans—volunteers all—know what *hot* really is. And that's before the shooting starts. God bless them. So, should the opportunity arise, flash a soldier a smile. And say thank you—out loud."

May I be forgiven for having uttered, or even thought, a word of complaint. There's work far harder than mine to be done—more grueling, infinitely more dangerous—in temperatures my attic will never attain. I shall put up with the heat, do my day's work, and complain no more. As for thanking those soldiers, whatever I may think of the policies that put them where they are, I don't need telling twice. *Thank you!* NR

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on the right

WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.

Two Minutes to Midnight

NEW YORK, AUGUST 4

THE threats and counterthreats mount, as also dazed questions that attempt to segregate loyalties. Some are saying that sectarian divisions are distractions and that they will soon give way as transcendent concerns assert themselves.

In Malaysia, Muslim leaders are meeting, an emergency gathering of the Organization of the Islamic Conference. They listened to the president of Indonesia, who remarked the deteriorating situation in the Middle East and rang in as one more man of influence talking about apocalyptic developments. "From [the existing situation] it will be just one stop away to that ultimate nightmare: a clash of civilizations."

Egypt's grand mufti, Sheikh Ali Gomaa, declares that supporting the guerrillas in Iraq is a "religious duty." Abdel Moneim Abul Fotouh, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood's General Guidance Council, had informed his flock that the United States' purpose in invading Iraq was to divide Muslims and that it was better to support a Hezbollah-Iranian agenda than an "American-Zionist" one.

U.S. analysts cannot expect to separate safely all the constituent factors involved in the Lebanon crisis. The challenge is to seek out salient considerations, and here, ironically, is one enunciated by Henry Kissinger, and a second enunciated by the British historian who is engaged in writing a biography of Kissinger.

Sir Alistair Horne introduces his essay, published August 4 in London's *Daily Telegraph*, by reminding readers of his deeply informed background. He served as an intelligence officer in Palestine right after World War II; seven of his books have been translated into Hebrew by the Israeli Defense Force, and two of these were hailed by Ariel Sharon.

Horne proposes a nuclear-free zone for the Middle East, "running from the Mediterranean to the frontiers of nuclear Pakistan. This would require an internationally backed, total clampdown on Iranian nuclear development. At the same time, it would involve Israel's relinquishment—or at least mothballing—of its nuclear capability. To protect Israeli interests, and assure its security, such a scheme would have to be backed by an American commitment to 'take out' instantly any Iranian, or other Middle Eastern, facility that threatened to cheat."

One day earlier, Henry Kissinger appeared on Charlie Rose's show. He said that the U.S. has a sovereign obligation to prevent Iran from consummating its nuclear-weapon enterprise. Asked to specify the means by which this might be accomplished, Kissinger retreated. This cannot be ascribed to cowardice or to a mind barren of ideas. Kissinger doesn't have official duties these days, but he is, worldwide, the senior human being in international experience. He can't be expected, even for Charlie Rose, to divulge what it is he might have recommended to President Bush the day before. But we are entitled to assume that if he lists the proscription of nuclear weapon components for Iran as a responsibility of the superpower, he has in mind a program that might effect this.

A total freeze on Iran could be done and would have arresting consequences. But Horne suggests that general denuclearization may be an indispensable step in bringing this about.

"Of what realistic value is Israel's nuclear deterrent, anyway? It is impossible to think of any circumstance, bar a modern-day Masada, when Israel would use it without American backing; in which case, the U.S. would probably be the first to press the button." Skepticism about the usefulness of the bomb goes further. "In the Middle East, certainly, Israel's nuclear arsenal has so far done nothing to deter terrorism over the years—or even a conventional war."

Henry Kissinger said to Charlie Rose that he thought it a responsibility of the U.S. to extract from Tehran a description of what kind of security would satisfy Iran, in the absence of nuclear power. What could be guaranteed to Iran, as to Israel, that would induce them to consider life without the superbomb?

This is very difficult to answer. Some nations that have the bomb want it in order to . . . be a nuclear power. Apart from that, it's hard to visualize a means of satisfying Iran that it can be forever secure from—whom? Pakistan? Turkmenistan? And what could persuade Israel to jettison its nuclear bomb? Short of conversion of the Muslims to other gods?

But the sheer suggestion of such movable considerations stimulates thoughts we can divulge next time to Charlie Rose.

Sonnytime

NEW YORK, AUGUST 8

I HAVE many times quoted, in my years at bat, the wry judgment of the Viennese critic. "The trouble with socialism is socialism. The trouble with capitalism is capitalists." I'll probably say it yet again before I go, but how to ignore those words in the week of Mrs. Astor? Her husband died in 1959 and she settled down in her apartment in New York and disbursed $200 million to people and institutions in need.

What suddenly awoke New York was a melodrama as vividly choreographed as any story ever told. She was at the center. She was used to this, being at the center. She had been very beautiful, she dressed like a fashion model, she was escorted by czars and presidents and nabobs of the night, she was funny and just a *little* impious, though she would never have thrown a rotten egg in the face of the Establishment, which she at once courted and patronized. She wore her Republicanism discreetly, but it was there, just one of the covey of jewels she sported. She sent money everywhere, not least to blighted parts of the city where John Jacob Astor amassed the fortune which five generations later she was spiritedly dissipating. But in 1983 she resolved to focus her philanthropy on the world of books. She is even today, at age 104, the honorary chairman of the board of trustees of the New York Public Library, and who knows, they might figure out a way to

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keep her presence in sight in the board rooms when she has passed on.

It matters to her friends and admirers that she is being cared for, and the big news story has to do with the fact that the mere question arose. It isn't easy to find such a story. De Maupassant would not have ended it serenely. But when last did we hear of a *grandson* petitioning the *courts* to remove from his *father* title to look after his *grandmother*?

The grandson nominated a social powerhouse about town, an old and dear friend of the afflicted Mrs. Astor (Mme. Oscar de la Renta), to serve as her caretaker after the deposition of her gruesome son, whose neglect, we read, had resulted in an apartment, in the grand Park Avenue building, with untended wastebaskets and sofas reeking with urine and her pet dogs locked in a pantry, with the grand lady in rags stumbling about in what had been palatial rooms. Over there was the dining table under which Ronald Reagan found the diamond earring she had dropped. Reagan, on his hands and knees under the table, had bumped into William Paley and Walter Wriston and Felix Rohatyn, all of them on their own hands and knees anxious to spot the missing jewel. It was a little party for Ronald Reagan, who four weeks before had been elected President of the United States, and six weeks later would take his oath of office.

Mrs. Astor's son, who aroused the parricidal intervention by his own son, had had a career in the State Department, serving as ambassador from the U.S. in the court of President Kenyatta. He had turned to show business in New York and, who knows, perhaps had an idea for a musical featuring a senile old lady who had given away all her money and was devoting Act III to seeing how she could make out without servants and jewels and nurses and dogs and presidents-elect to find her mislaid diamonds.

My wife and I didn't see her often, and when we did, one of us recited our standard joke. "The trouble is," she'd say chortling, "we live too far apart." The joke was that we have lived 40 years in the same building. Then we would resolve to atone for past neglects, and she would loose a bit of gossip, or gentle derogation of somebody or something, though never (in my hearing) of people who, by their conduct, give capitalism a bad name.

Go Where, Joe?

NEW YORK, AUGUST 11

It's no wonder that so much time is being given to the Democratic primary in Connecticut, and that so many voices are being heard. The ideological triumphalists proclaim it a great renewal in the Democratic party, beginning with the glorious purge of Sen. Joseph Lieberman. There are, of course, difficulties with this reading.

Most obvious is the narrowness of the victory. Lieberman lost by four points. Moreover, only 20 percent of Connecticut Democrats actually participated in the purge, which would appear to make it less than plebiscitary.

According to one poll, 30 percent of Connecticut Democrats classify themselves as "liberal." But 60 percent of the anti-Lieberman vote was done by voters who classify themselves as liberal. This figure is not surprising. Candidates who challenge incumbents are usually inflamed by a single cause, and it was always clear that Mr. Lamont wanted to rescind the war in Iraq and may have been encouraged enough by the primary victory to go one step further and attempt to rescind the War on Terrorism; indeed his inflation is such that he might go yet further, by attempting to rescind terrorism.

The practical question, of course, is what Lieberman should now do, detached from the formal apparatus of the Democratic party. If he has any thought, as he apparently does, of challenging the challengers, he will have to wait for the first credible opinion poll to weigh in. If Quinnipiac (for instance) shows Lieberman substantially ahead of Lamont two months from now, the enthusiasts for Lieberman's ouster will be cold-shouldered as summer soldiers, unqualified for the long strategic fight ahead for the redefinition of the Democratic party.

Lieberman needs here to rely on his prestige as a three-term senator, on his natural affability, and on his sense of mission in the matter of international terrorism. A critical problem for him is financial support. Another problem is campaign workers. Most interesting is the story that ran in the *New York Sun*. It points out that campaign professionals tend to be linked to one party or the other. Working for a candidate who is running as an independent could damage their careers. So Lieberman may well have to rely on his Senate staff, which is intensely loyal to him, to run much of his campaign.

Engaged in a contest of national significance, Lieberman will be contending with the well-heeled American Left, and these are big spenders. Orthodox Democrats are conventionally linked to primary winners, so that Mr. Lieberman can't count on heavy support except from wealthy Democrats who share his passion for seeing through the engagement in Iraq. Here, the commitments of American Jews become relevant. Our venture in Iraq has no direct bearing on the safety of Israel but a huge indirect bearing on Mideast terrorism. The threat to Israel is greatly fortified by the factor of Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in Palestine, and a potential Iranianization of Iraq if the U.S. effort is abandoned.

What Joe Lieberman can't expect from the American Right is a relationship he has never courted. When, contending against Lamont, he declared that he was a pedigreed Democrat, he was speaking a plain truth, the Iraq question to one side. Columnist Mona Charen, contributing to a symposium in National Review Online, noted that "Lieberman jettisoned pretty much every moderate position (e.g., school choice) he'd ever taken" when he served as Al Gore's running mate in the 2000 presidential race. He is not to be viewed as potentially a Republican or conservative asset.

Which leaves support for him enlivened by gratitude for his tenacity on the terrorist question. Plus also, for those who know him, personal respect, which, in the case of this journalist, dates back 40 years, when we shared a human burden—an obligation to an old employee of the *Yale Daily News*—and had no trouble in our long colloquy as friends and fellow Americans.

—UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

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happy warrior

MARK STEYN

Panic Stations

I WAS at the airport in Auckland the other day and mooching around the duty-free shop. My little girl likes snow globes, so I picked out one showing some charming New Zealand sheep. No snow, technically, but when you shook it little stars sparkled around the ovine cuties. The Kiwi sales clerk swiped my credit card, wrapped it up, and then said, "Oh, wait. Are you flying to America?"

I should have known. She consulted her list of prohibited items and informed me that, in an expansive definition worthy of the great John Paul Stevens, the twinkly fluid inside the snow globe had been deemed to count as a "liquid." In theory, I could smash the incredibly thick glass, replace the sparkly stuff with something more incendiary, re-glaze it in the airport men's room with help from co-conspirators among the shadowy networks of antipodean jihadist glaziers, and board the plane to explosive effect. When I scoffed at this thesis, the lady said somewhat petulantly, "Well, it's not my fault you're going to America."

Which is hard to argue with. If I'd wanted to fly a souvenir snow globe to Yemen, Saudi Arabia, or Belgium, there'd have been no problem. I could breeze through the metal detector with a pair of snow globes in each hand shaking them like Carmen Miranda. The jihad may never achieve global domination over the Great Satan, but it has already achieved snow-global domination.

At Australian airports, they've evidently figured out that these heightened security procedures will be with us for a while, so they've reconfigured the area around the detector—a row of tables with small baskets for keys and coins, a separate row of tables with bigger baskets for unloading laptops from cases, plenty of space on the other side for reassembling oneself and one's possessions. Works very smoothly. None of that at LAX: Five years after 9/11, the line shuffles forward into the kind of chaotic shambles that would pass muster had the procedures been introduced 48 hours ago. Surly security staff yell at passengers—"BACK BEHIND THE LINE! NOW!"—and yell at one another—"I NEED A MALE AND A FEMALE INSPECTION! NOW!"—and bins back up on the belt and wheezing geriatrics tip forward trying to re-shoe themselves in mid-hop.

In the later stages of the IRA's long campaign against the British government, they didn't even have to bother bombing anything. They simply had to get a man with an Irish accent to place a phone call using the agreed code words to the appropriate authorities or media outlets. Upon receipt of such a message, London's police would shut down Tube lines and bus routes and the city would grind to a halt and millions of pounds would be lost to the economy. That's a lot of bucks for no bang. Just a tenpenny phone call. The jihad pulled off something similar at Heathrow. It was reported that MI-5 and Scotland Yard had "foiled" the plot, but millions of people will now be inconvenienced and discomforted at airports and on flights around the world, in perpetuity. With setbacks like that, who needs victories? Next time round, they'll foil some entirely different scheme—explosive suppositories, dirty-nuke hip replacements—and another avalanche of pitiful constraints will fall upon the hapless traveler. The British Airports Authority has now banned lipstick, mascara, and all other cosmetics, so, even if you fly first class, by the time you get off you'll look like coach. Birmingham Airport has banned "gel-filled bras," presumably just for the opportunities it affords in passenger humiliation.

Birmingham Airport has banned 'gel-filled bras,' presumably just for the opportunities it affords in passenger humiliation.

This is where we came in five years ago. The airline cabin was already the most regulated jurisdiction in the free world—a kind of way-up-there-in-the-blue state where the ambitious Democrat's fondest desires on gun control, smoking, and indeed free speech had all been implemented. So on 9/11 three out of the four planes followed all the 1970s hijack procedures and everybody died. On the fourth, free-born citizens reclaimed their rights and provided the only good news of the day. Half a decade on, the regulatory regime is even more coercive. No plastic knives, no tweezers, and, long after Richard Reid has died of old age in prison, we'll still be removing our footwear in eternal homage to the thwarted shoe-bomber.

The arithmetic is very simple: Can we regulate for all faster than they can adapt for some? Three of the plotters arrested in Britain turned out to be converts—or, as Islam calls them, "reverts." The jihad evidently took the view that, Norm Mineta's protestations notwithstanding, surely not even the decadent Americans would really be so foolish as to assume the Swedish grandmother was as high-risk as the young Saudi male. So they shifted their efforts to recruiting men of non-Arab appearance with non-Muslim names—and, judging from recent arrests from Toronto to London to Perth, they've had some success. Absent a determination to wage war on the ideology, the question is whether we can adapt as nimbly as they do.

In the time it took to reverse the credit-card transaction at that Auckland airport shop, it would have been possible to establish that I am not a terrorist. Nor you, nor 95 percent of passengers. But we choose not to, preferring to shuffle through the detector, sans shoes, sans gel-filled bras, sans penile piercings, and one day sans everything, cursed for eternity to react defensively to every innovation. Our enemies think they hold the world in their hands, and I can't even hold a snow globe in mine. **NR**

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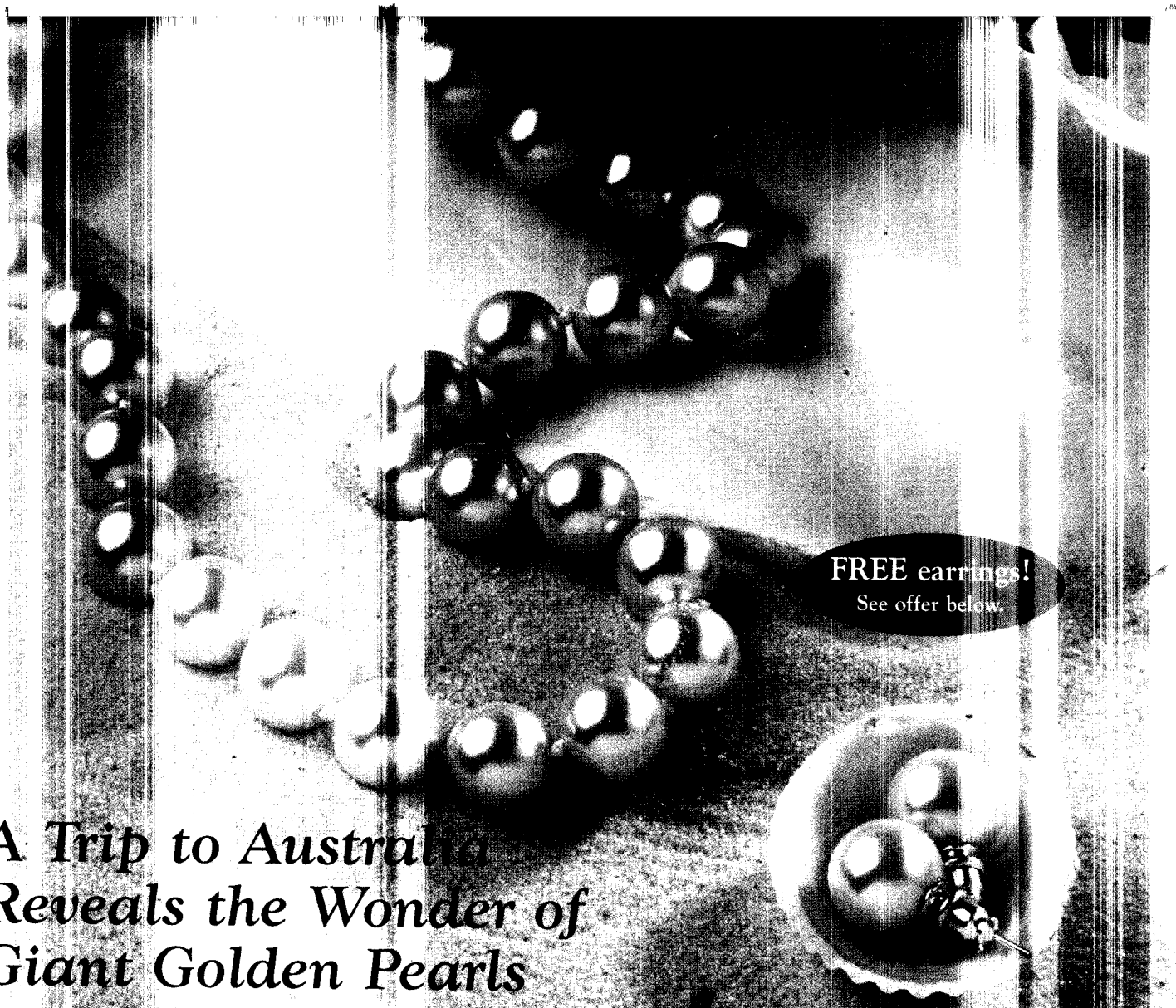

A Trip to Australia Reveals the Wonder of Giant Golden Pearls

Just before 1900, in a small isolated town called Broome Australia, fishermen came across the rarest oyster—a giant named the Pinctada maxima. This world's largest oyster contained the voluptuous South Sea Pearl—the most sought after pearl in the world. After this discovery, Broome soon became the dominant pearl trading post in the world and literally 80% of all worldwide pearl trading passed through Broome.

A trip to Broome. We took the long trip to Australia to study the famous white lipped oysters that produced magnificent pearls that are often 11-14mm—about 8 times the size of a standard cultured pearl. Not only did these oysters produce the rare South Sea pearl but they also produced tremendous amounts of mother of pearl or nacre. Nacre is the lustrous iridescent substance which is secreted by the oyster to form the shiny inside of their shells. When nacre secretions are deposited around the seed they build up to form a full sized pearl. Our bioscientists went to work to see if we could help Mother Nature along a little. By extracting the seed pearl from young fresh oyster shells and speeding up the natural process by which the nacre coats the pearl, we are able to produce the breathtaking Australian Pacific Pearl.

Golden beauties. These Grade AAA golden pearls are extremely large in size—12mm—but they are much more consistent in shape than ordinary pearls that have to be extracted from 4-5 year old oysters that are dead. They are also less porous so you don't have to worry about perfumes or cosmetics discoloring these pearls like you do with ordinary pearls. In a more ecologically friendly approach, the Australian Pacific pearl seed is extracted from fresh oyster shells and then organically micro-coated in the laboratory with the same nacre that coats naturally grown pearls. Giant 12mm golden South Sea pearls can cost up to $50,000 for an 18" strand. Why even think about that when you can now wear an 18" strand of 12mm Australian Pacific pearls with a consistently round shape and a rare golden color for under $300.

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